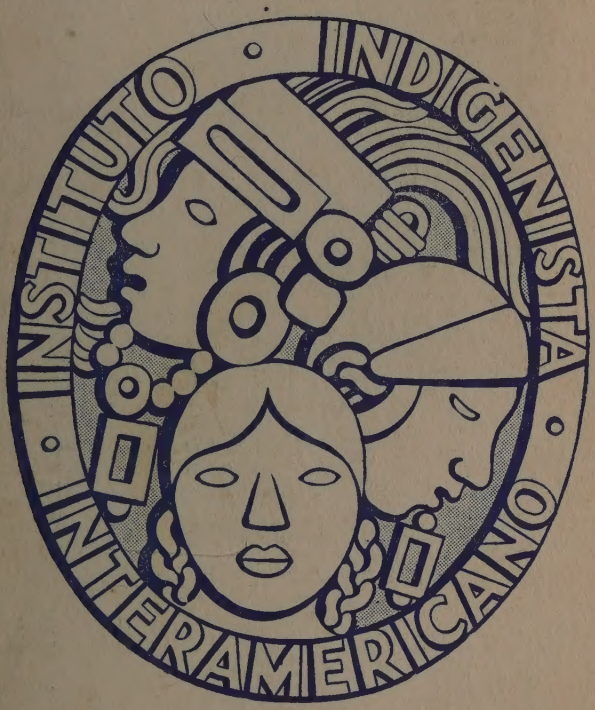
AMERICA INDIGENA

ORGANO TRIMESTRAL DEL INSTITUTO INDIGENISTA INTERAMERICANO



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AMERICA INDIGENA

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Se publica en Enero, Abril, Julio y Octubre, para fomentar el intercambio de informaciones acerca de la vida indígena actual y de la política y programas que se están desarrollando en su favor. El BOLETIN INDIGENISTA, suplemento de la Revista, en el cual se publican noticias sobre asuntos indígenas de toda la América, va incluído en la suscripción anual con un costo de:

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ORGANO TRIMESTRAL DEL

INSTITUTO INDIGENISTA INTERAMERICANO

Director: MANUEL GAMIO

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EDITORIAL

COOPERACION DE LA UNESCO EN UN PROYECTO DEL *INSTITUTO INDIGENISTA INTERAMERICANO*

Teniendo en cuenta la magna obra de trascendencia universal que lleva a cabo la UNESCO, el *Instituto Indigenista Interamericano* solicitó su valiosa cooperación para desarrollar el proyecto cuyos lineamientos generales se exponen en seguida:

Entre los grupos aborígenes del Continente existen: *A)* procesos mentales cuya expresión material o abstracta es de gran interés y utilidad para su desarrollo físico e intelectual, por lo que deben ser conservados y estimulados; *B)* al mismo tiempo, hay otros procesos que obstaculizan la introducción de nuevos medios e instrumentos de cultura y progreso, por lo que hay que procurar transformarlos para que actúen en sentido favorable.

A.—Múltiples ideas y conceptos de los Indígenas tienen, repetimos, expresiones materiales y abstractas que son de gran valor para su existencia, así como para la de los otros sectores sociales que con ellos conviven.

Las prácticas demográficas de diversos grupos autóctonos rivalizan y en ciertos casos superan, a las que privan entre colectividades que se precian de más civilizadas, notándose desde luego que son más depuradas mientras más alejados están esos grupos de los grandes centros urbanos donde a menudo germina y florece la corrupción política.

El arte indígena, de genuina inspiración cósmica y vigorosa personalidad, se originó hace millares de años, por lo que supera con frecuencia al de tipo occidental que procede de otras tierras y otros cielos y ha sido más o menos convencionalmente adaptado al nuevo medio, por lo que en muchos casos sus expresiones incurren en artificiosos y bizarros hibridismos. Los Indios atesoran ciertos valiosos principios de ética que siglos de esclavitud y contacto con viciosas ideas de procedencia occidental no han podido borrar. Esas y otras manifestaciones útiles y benéficas de la mente indígena deben ser estimuladas y hay que combatir todo aquello que tiende a desnaturalizarlas.

B.—Es frecuente el fracaso de los médicos que visitan pueblos indios, donde es totalmente ignorada la medicina moderna y desconocidos los servicios de aquéllos; su actuación es acogida con aparente indiferencia o aun con hostilidad, no precisamente por una sistemática antipatía, sino a consecuencia de los conceptos convencionales que prevalecen entre curanderos, brujos y pacientes, respecto a enfermedades

EDITORIAL

COOPERATION OF THE UNESCO IN A PROJECT OF THE *INTER-AMERICAN INDIAN INSTITUTE*

Considering the great task, of universal importance which the UNESCO is carrying out, the *Inter-American Indian Institute*, solicited its very valuable cooperation in the development of a project the outline of which is contained in the following paragraphs:

Among the aboriginal groups of the Continent, there exist: *A)* mental processes whose material or abstract expression has great interest and usefulness in their physical and intellectual development which should be preserved and stimulated; *B)* at the same time there are other processes that prevent the introduction of new means and instruments of culture and progress, that should be modified in such a way that their action may be favorable.

A.—Many are the concepts and ideas of the Indians that have, we repeat, material and abstract expressions of great value in their existence as well as in that of other social groups among which they live.

The racial practices of several native groups compete with and in certain cases surpass those existing in communities considered of higher civilization; it is remarkable that their customs remain uncontaminated so long as they have no contact with the great urban centers where political corruption very often flourishes.

Indian Art of genuine cosmic inspiration and vigorous personality originated thousands of years ago, that being the reason why it frequently surpasses western art which hails from remote lands and has been more or less conventionally adapted to its new environment; in some cases at least its expressions incur in artificial and bizarre mixtures.

The Indians treasure certain ethical principles that centuries of slavery and contact with vicious western ideas have not been able to obliterate.

These and other traits of Indian mentality should be stimulated and whatever goes against their nature must be fought against.

B.—Very frequent is the failure of physicians that visit Indian towns where modern Medicine and the services they are able to render are totally unknown; their work is looked upon with indifference and even with hostility, not for personal reasons, but because of certain conventional concepts prevailing between witch doctors and their patients, regarding illnesses and the methods by which they

y medios empíricos para curarlas, los cuales no son otra cosa que supervivencias de remotos procesos mentales de origen precolombino y en parte colonial. El médico, pues, tiene que retirarse de esos pueblos que seguirán careciendo por tiempo indeterminado de tan útiles servicios, con detrimento de la salud de sus habitantes. En cambio, si antes de las visitas de los médicos se hubiese procedido a transformar y modernizar los anticuados pero persistentes procesos mentales relativos a enfermedades y métodos curativos, la labor de esos profesionistas sería apreciada y facilitada. Otro tanto puede decirse sobre las epizootias que tanto daño causan en las comunidades indias: por ejemplo, la vacunación del ganado que en México era diezmado por la fiebre aftosa provocó sangrientos conflictos, porque los campesinos creían erróneamente que las actividades de los veterinarios mexicanos y norteamericanos encargados de vacunar son perjudiciales en vez de benéficas, pues su vieja tradición no las prescribe ni ellos las conceptúan acertadas. Consideraciones análogas podrían hacerse respecto a ideas que privan en atrasadas y defectuosas técnicas agrícolas e industriales o sobre el equivocado concepto que se tiene del origen y carácter de las lluvias, sequías, inundaciones y otros fenómenos naturales que tanto afectan la vida del Indio, etc. En consecuencia, parece conveniente procurar la favorable transformación de esos anacrónicos procesos mentales que obstaculizan la introducción de nuevos medios de cultura y progreso.

Para el conocimiento y el estímulo o la transformación de esos procesos mentales se requiere, no sólo su previa identificación, sino también hay que tener en cuenta, aunque sea de modo sumario, aquellos que los originaron en las épocas precolombina y colonial. En seguida hay que conocer la influencia que actualmente ejercen en la mentalidad de los respectivos grupos indígenas los factores geográficos y sociales del medio en que viven. Con esos antecedentes ya se obtiene un conocimiento satisfactorio de tales procesos y se les puede comparar con los correspondientes de tipo occidental moderno y se procede a convencer al Indio de las ventajas o inconvenientes que para su bienestar presentan estos últimos procesos, respecto a los anacrónicos que ellos abrigan, valiéndose para ello de los siguientes medios:

Opúsculos.

Inspirándose en los datos que suministren las investigaciones arriba aludidas, se editarían con tipo y composición adecuados opúsculos atractivamente ilustrados y escritos en idioma nacional o en lenguas indígenas cuando sea necesario, en los que se expondrían de manera

may be cured, which are remainders of remote mental processes of pre-columbian and partly colonial origin. The physician, is thus forced to withdraw from those towns, which will indefinitely lack his services to the evident injury to the health of their inhabitants. On the other hand, if these old but persistent mental processes regarding ailments and their cure had been transformed and modernized before the physician's visit, his work would have been facilitated and appreciated. The same may be said regarding epidemic diseases of animals that to such great extent harm Indian communities: for example, vaccination of cattle struck by hoof and mouth disease provoked bloody conflicts, because the peasants believed that the activities of the Mexican and American Veterinarians engaged in vaccinating were harmful instead of beneficial, as they were not prescribed nor accepted by their old traditions. Similar considerations could be made regarding ideas about primitive and backward agricultural and industrial techniques, or about the erroneous ideas they have on the origin of rain droughts, floods and other natural phenomena that to such great extent affect the Indians' lives. Consequently, it seems convenient to transform those anachronic mental process which make it difficult to introduce new methods and means of culture and progress.

In order to know, stimulate and transform those mental processes it is not enough that they be identified; we also have to consider, however briefly, their origin in pre-columbian and colonial times. Next we must consider the influence exerted over the minds of the various Indians groups by the Geographical and Social factors of their environment. With those antecedents, satisfactory knowledge of those processes is obtainable, they may be compared with corresponding processes of a modern western type, and it is then possible to convince the Indian of the advantages or disadvantages he may have regarding his welfare, as compared with his own anachronic ways; for this purpose, the following means may be used:

Pamphlets.

Inspired in the data provided by the above investigations, suitable and attractively illustrated pamphlets will be edited in the national language or in Indian languages if necessary, containing brief and simple articles regarding illnesses and the methods by which they may be cured, agriculture, natural phenomena, etc., striving to demonstrate

sintética y en sencilla redacción temas relativos a enfermedades y métodos curativos, agricultura, fenómenos naturales, etc., procurando demostrar la mayor eficacia de ciertos procesos modernos respecto a los anacrónicos y viceversa.

Teatro indígena.

El Indio precolombino interpretaba estéticamente casi todos los aspectos y actividades de su existencia por medio de ceremonias propiamente teatrales relativas a: fábulas mitológicas que dramatizaban hazañas de los mil dioses del Olimpo autóctono; epopeyas gloriosas de guerreros invictos; nacimiento, pubertad, matrimonio y muerte; relaciones internacionales, comercio e industria, etc. Durante la Colonia desaparecieron muchas de esas manifestaciones, pero otras se conservaron y mezclaron con las análogas importadas de Europa, originándose así lan danzas, pastorelas y otras ceremonias y espectáculos, algunos de los cuales aun persisten y cuyo carácter es en general religioso y estético-simbólico, pero carecen de la especial tendencia educativa que es principal objeto de este proyecto y consiste en la aludida transformación o estímulo de los procesos en cuestión.

En consecuencia, teniendo en cuenta las mencionadas investigaciones, así como el material regional propiamente folklórico, se procedería a la cuidadosa elaboración de dramas y comedias en que son actores los mismos indígenas, incluyéndose en ellas, donde sea oportuno, consideraciones análogas a las que quedaron citadas respecto a los aludidos opúsculos.

Como resultado complementario de estas funciones teatrales se logrará suministrar a los Indios diversión y entrenamiento de los que tanto carecen hoy, lo cual es uno de los principales motivos del exagerado consumo de bebidas alcohólicas en las zonas rurales.

En resumen, cuando la mentalidad del Indio esté debidamente preparada, según se ha venido explicando, será mucho más fácil para las entidades oficiales y particulares que se preocupan por el bienestar de la población autóctona, mejorar, pronto y eficazmente, su salubridad, habitación, alimentación, técnicas agrícolas e industriales, conceptos sobre enfermedades y métodos curativos, ideas sobre fenómenos geográficos y meteorológicos, etc., sin que surjan conflictos ni sean innecesariamente lesionadas la tradición y la personalidad de los individuos y grupos considerados.

Este proyecto fué aprobado por la UNESCO, que desde el pasado mes de Enero inició su primera aportación de fondos para desarrollarlo

the greater efficiency of certain modern processes as compared to anachronic ones.

Indian theater.

The pre-columbian Indian gave aesthetic interpretation to almost every aspect and activity of his existence through theatrical ceremonies relating to: mythological fables dramatizing the deeds of the thousand gods of the aboriginal Olympus; glorious epics of invincible warriors; birth, manhood, marriage and death; international relations, commerce, industry, etc. During the Spanish domination many of those manifestations were forgotten, but others were conserved and blended with those of similar type imported from Europe, that being the origin of dances, plays and other ceremonies and performances, some of which still subsist, which have generally a religious and aesthetic-symbolic character, but lack the special educational tendency that is the main purpose of this project, consisting in the aforesaid transformation and stimulation of mental processes.

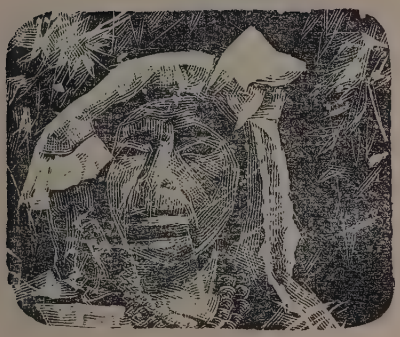
Consequently, and in view of those investigations and the really folkloric material in each region, it is advisable to compose dramas and comedies with the Indians themselves as actors, including in them wherever it is possible, similar considerations to those contained in the pamphlets.

As a complementary result of these theatrical performances, the Indians would be provided with entertainment of which they are in such dire need, this being one of the principal reasons for the exagerated consumption of alcoholic beverages in rural zones.

In short, when the mind of the Indians has been duly prepared according to the above ideas, it will be much easier for those private of official institutions interested in the welfare of the native population, to improve rapidly and efficiently their health conditions, dwellings, food habits, industrial and agricultural techniques, ideas on illnesses and curative methods, and on geographic and meteorological phenomena, etc. avoiding conflicts and without unnecessarily hurting tradition nor the personality of the individuals and groups concerned.

This project was approved by the UNESCO, which since last January made its first contribution to its development in the Mezquital Valley, Mexico, jointly with the elements destined for that purpose by the *Inter-American Indian Institute.* The Governing Board and the Executive Committee of this Institute express their deepest appre-

en el Valle del Mezquital, México, conjuntamente con los elementos que para el mismo fin destina el *Instituto Indigenista Interamericano*. El Consejo Directivo y el Comité Ejecutivo de éste hacen presente sus más expresivos agradecimientos a esa insigne Organización, y a su ilustre Director, Don Jaime Torres Bodet, por lo que tan altruista actuación significa en pro de los habitantes autóctonos del Continente, ya que los buenos resultados que son de esperarse del proyecto del Valle del Mezquital serán profusamente publicados y difundidos en los países americanos, algunos de los cuales quizá desarrollen proyectos análogos convenientemente adaptados a las especiales condiciones que en ellos caracteriza al arduo problema indígena.



ciation to that Organization and its illustrious Director, Don Jaime Torres Bodet, for all that their altruistic action means in behalf of the aboriginal peoples of the Continent, for the good results that are to be expected from the Mezquital Valley Project will be profusely published throughout the American countries, some of which may develop similar projects, conveniently adapted to the special conditions that in each one may characterize the arduous Indian problem.

LA LEYENDA DORADA DE LA QUINA

Por Juan B. Lastres
(Perú)

Summary

La Leyenda Dorada de la Quina is a chapter of a monographic work titled Medicina Incaica, in which Dr. Juan B. Lastres analyzes this interesting and renewed subject from the psycho-ethnical angle.

In this article the author indicates the possibility that the fever fighting properties of cinchone were known in the Incan period, and points out some linguistic and bibliographic data that seem to demonstrate this theory. In addition he makes a synopsis regarding the use of the cinchona tree during the Spanish domination, as well as regarding the adoption of this drug in the western world.

I

Refiérese en el mito creador de los Incas, que el dios Viracocha vino de la parte del lago Titicaca esparciendo vida por el haz de la tierra, formando al hombre, a los animales y vegetales. Creó los árboles y las flores, para recreación de la vista, para sustento del hombre y para remedio y cura de sus enfermedades. La inteligencia instintiva del hombre lo hizo aprender a conocer las propiedades de las raíces de las plantas, conoció su sabor dulce o amargo y las aderezó como pudo en forma de cocimientos o infusiones. Y notó que muchos de ellos adormecían, hacían cesar la hemorragia de las heridas cruentas o detenían la calentura.

El mito y la leyenda preceden frecuentemente a la historia. A falta de escritura, la tradición oral la sustituye y viene la fantasía popular a deformar la verdad, la que hay que encontrar a veces en algún recodo de la leyenda. Se cuenta que muy cerca de Loxa existe un hermoso lago, en cuyas márgenes crecen árboles frondosos. Ocurrió en tiempo pre-histórico un grave cataclismo y los árboles milenarios, con sus corpulentas raíces, fueron precipitados en el lago, mezclándose sus tranquilas aguas con las sustancias propias de árboles y raíces. Los Indios, quienes tenían por costumbre ir a aplacar la sed en sus aguas, notaron que éstas habían adquirido un sabor amargo. Muchos de ellos estaban febricitantes, iban con sed doblada por la calentura y el agua no sólo les aplacó la sed, sino que les curó de sus fiebres. Notaron que era la corteza de los árboles la que comunicaba el sabor amargo, y que las raíces, cuando habían permanecido mucho

tiempo bajo el agua, perdían este sabor y la cualidad anti-febrífuga.

La fiebre o las fiebres fueron muchas. Las denominaron con el término quechua de *rupha*. Pero la producida por el paludismo se la denominaba *Chayapuc ruphay onccoy*, o sencillamente *chucchu*, indicando que antes de ella se presentaba el escalofrío denunciador. Quién sabe si el calor producido por ella les haría suponer, como en toda interpretación mágico-religiosa, que fuera algún ser maligno especial, que se apoderara del sujeto para producirle el fuego, después de hacerle pasar por el frío. Y tal vez el hechicero de "fuego" que vemos en la obra de Huaman Poma, fuera el que administrara la droga maravillosa, las raíces de la cinchona en infusión con agua o chicha, valiéndose de artificios o de pases, para producir la curación de la enfermedad.

II

La leyenda es muy bella, para ser totalmente creída. Existen contradicciones que opacan su esplendor. Defensores y detractores se enfrentan en esta controversia histórica. Entre los primeros consideramos a William Arrot, La Condamine y Jussieu, quienes sostienen la teoría indigenista, valiéndose de muchas observaciones etnológicas. Las aseveraciones de los botánicos vienen en su ayuda, pues existen plantaciones de árboles de Cinchona en Bolivia, cuya longevidad es grande, y desde luego muy anterior a la conquista española. La Condamine, el explorador francés que vino con Jorge Juan y Antonio de Ulloa, refiere que un oficial del Arzobispado de Lima, don Andrés Munibo, tenía conocimiento de que un vecino de Loxa, don Fausto de la Cueva, quien murió de edad avanzada, relataba que la quina era un remedio común en ese lugar antes de los Españoles. Diego de Herrera, en su libro escrito hacia 1696, dice qeu los "aborígenes conocían y utilizaban las propiedades de la quina". Weddel, el quinólogo que estuvo en Loxa, refiere que los Indios del caserío de Malacotas, cerca de esa ciudad, conocían la quina. Y Jussieu, el naturalista, refiere que "habiendo experimentado en varias plantas, encontraron los indios finalmente que la corteza de 'kina' era el postrero y único remedio de las fiebres intermitentes. Y no por otro concepto que por su efecto, el árbol fué conocido entre ellos. Lo llamaron Yara-Chucchu, Cava chucchu. Yara es lo mismo que árbol, Cava es la corteza; chucchu, horripilación, frío, fiebre. Como si dijéramos: árbol de las fiebres intermitentes. También lo llamaron Ayac-cava, como si dijéramos corteza amarga..."

Juan A. Domínguez, por su parte, cita al médico genovés Sebastián Badus, quien dice que "el uso de la quina era ya conocido de los americanos antes de la llegada de los españoles, y para usarla, los indios hacían infundir en el agua durante un día la corteza triturada y daban luego a beber el líquido a los enfermos".

No existiendo sino la tradición, es justo que aparezcan contradicciones en esta epopéyica historia. La primera confusión se estableció con la quina quina o corteza de *Myroxylon peruiferum* o bálsamo del Perú. Markham es uno de los que más han contribuído a desmentir el origen indio de la quina, porque visitando los Hampi Catu o mercados de yerbas no encontró la corteza citada. Pöping, Spruce y Humboldt, refieren que en Loxa al Indio no le gustaba tomar la quina y no sabía de la forma de emplearla.

Lo más verosímil es que el conocimiento de las propiedades antifebrífugas de la quina sólo se conocieron en pequeñas localidades, y el secreto farmacológico se trasmitiera de generación a generación, como pasaba con el mismo arte médico. Los Indios, grandes herbolarios, como los llaman todos los cronistas, poseyendo una abundante cantidad de yerbas, experimentaron con ellas y encontraron en la infusión en agua o en chicha que la corteza amarga suprimía las fiebres. El secreto quedó local, precisamente en los sitios donde geográficamente se cultivan las cinchonas. No hay por qué exagerar la nota, haciendo su conocimiento extensivo al dilatado territorio del Incario, pues bien sabemos las dificultades de locomoción y las características de reserva de la raza. Los Indios del pequeño caserío de Malacotas, cerca de Loxa, como dice Weddel, fueron los primeros que conocieron estos efectos de las cinchonas.

La Condamine es más afirmativo. Dice que "El uso de la corteza de quina fué conocido de los americanos antes de ser de los españoles, y conforme a la carta manuscrita de Antonio Bollo, mercader genovés que había comerciado por estos lugares, citado por Sebastián Badus, los naturales de la región ocultaron durante largo tiempo a los españoles el uso de este específico, lo que es muy verosímil dada la antipatía que aún tienen contra los conquistadores". Esto era en el año de 1738.

Hipólito Ruiz, en su *Quinología*, dice: "Indios de la provincia de Loja tuvieron nociones de la virtud de la Quina o Cascarilla y puesto en práctica el uso contra las fiebres intermitentes, muchos años antes que los españoles conquistaran el Perú. . ."

Asimismo, Arcos, historiador ecuatoriano, es de la opinión de los anteriores investigadores. Sostiene que en una época tan antigua como

el siglo XV, las fiebres tercianas hicieron estragos en los ejércitos del Emperador Pachacutec. Los médicos indios emplearon la corteza en forma de maceración. Igual procedimiento emplearon con las raíces, maceradas en chicha, para combatir las fiebres de los Paltas y Zaraguros, tribus del interior del Ecuador.

No pueden ser, pues, más concluyentes, las opiniones expuestas, sobre todo de personas competentes en el conocimiento de las cosas de Indias. Hipólito Ruiz y Monardes, españoles ambos, no obstante su orgullo nacionalista, no vacilan en atribuir a los Indios el gran descubrimiento. Ya bastante mérito tenía España con haber difundido por el mundo la buena nueva: los "polvos del Cardenal" y los "polvos de los jesuítas", que redimirían al mundo del paludismo.

III

Un cacique indio del pueblo de Malacotas curó de fiebres intermitentes al Corregidor de Loxa Don Juan López de Cañizares, y éste, por intermedio del correo oficial, envió al Palacio de Pizarro una porción de corteza del árbol privilegiado y con ella se curó de tercianas el Conde de Chinchón.

Fueron manos indias, guiadas por cerebros indios, las que dieron a López de Cañizares la corteza de la quina y los que le transmitieron verbalmente la leyenda dorada de su poder. En tierras de América y en el Imperio Incaico, se llevó a cabo el importante hallazgo farmacológico y terapéutico. Después vendrían los científicos y la quina y la quinina pasearían su carro triunfal para luchar contra la temible dolencia.

La fecha del gran descubrimiento no ha sido precisada aún. Como casi todo lo grande, su origen queda rodeado de misterio. Pero el mundo civilizado celebró en 1930 con toda solemnidad el tercer Centenario del feliz hallazgo. Aceptémosle en bien de la cronología y fijemos hipotéticamente 1630, como el año en que un Indio llamado Pedro Leyva curó al Corregidor de Loxa y más tarde el mundo se beneficiaría de esta preciosa corteza del árbol de la quina para desterrar el paludismo. ¿Cuál fué la Cinchona que primero se administró para curar esta enfermedad? Muchos historiadores creen que fué la especie *Cinchona Uritosinga* (Arcos). El padre jesuíta sanó rápidamente, y por eso fueron llamados polvos de los jesuítas. Enterado el jesuíta de la enfermedad del Virrey del Perú, envió una porción de estos polvos al Palacio de Pizarro, curando al ilustre Monarca de unas tercianas crónicas, tal como cuenta Suardo en su diario de la época.

IV

Los estudios botánicos han venido a precisar en forma científica las características de las diversas formas de Cinchonas, así como los alcaloides que de ellas se extraen. Los botánicos, principalmente Weddel, han estudiado el género Cinchona *(Cinchonoidae,* de las rubiáceas). Son árboles y arbustos que se encuentran en las vertientes orientales de los Andes, en la llamada ceja de montaña. También existen hacia las vertientes occidentales. Weberbauer ha estudiado con detención los diversos géneros: *Cosmibuena grandiflora, Condaminea corymbosa, Warscewiczia coccinea, Exostema corymbosum, Arcythophyllum,* etc.

Las plantas del género Cinchona son muy variadas. Los valles de los Andes, comprendidos entre los 10º de latitud norte y 19º de latitud sur, la contienen en cantidad y en forma de varias especies. Howard describe hasta 38, siendo la más conocida la *Cinchona succirubra,* de corteza roja, que abunda en la provincia de Loxa, en la montaña de Uritosinga. Estudiada más tarde por el explorador francés La Condamine, se la denominó *Cinchona Condaminea.* En el Perú, en la provincia de Sandia, en Carabaya (Weberbauer), se encuentran muchas variedades de ellas. Weddel, en 1847, estudió esta planta, explorando la región del lago Titicaca, el valle de Urubamba y Arequipa.

Lecuanda dice lo siguiente del árbol de la Cascarilla: "El árbol que le hay por Cutelo, Temoche, Chotes y otros lugares de aquel partido, es un árbol delgado como de vara y media de circunferencia: no echa hojas si no es muy a la copa arriba, de donde le sale la flor: la hay fina y ordinaria, una y otra echan un botoncito que abierto es semejante al del azahar de la naranja en el tamaño, color y olor: la hoja cuando se quiere caer de madura se pone colorada: es especial febrífugo para las tercianas, y se hace un crecido comercio para Europa."

Tres Reales Cédulas coloniales, anotadas por Valdizán, se refieren a la forma del comercio de la cascarilla con Europa y España en particular. La primera tiene fecha 12 de septiembre de 1793, y prescribe que la cascarilla sea embarcada "sin reconocimiento judicial", dejando el cuidado de su buena calidad a la buena fe del comerciante. La segunda Cédula es del año 1794, por ella se declara libre el comercio de la Cascarilla, "que no fuese de los montes anotados". La tercera tiene fecha 1796, y ordena "que se acote el monte que produce la quina calisaya y que sólo se beneficie la que se remite a España con destino a la Real botica".

Muchos naturalistas y botánicos han estudiado las características de las Cinchonas. Colunga, Raimondi y F. Herrera dan excelentes descripciones, y así llegamos hasta la muy moderna de Weberbauer. Raimondi se expresa de la *Cinchona Calisaya* en la siguiente forma: "De talla desarrollada, con hojas opuestas pecioladas, ovales, obovadas, venosas y color púrpura en la cara inferior; provistas de glándulas en las axilas de las nervaduras; las estípulas ovales, en tiras, caducas; las flores numerosas, pequeñas, con el cáliz de cinco dientes, agudas; la corola blanca o rosada con lóbulos lanceolados y con el margen dentado." F. Herrera, por su parte, estudia la flora del departamento del Cuzco, especialmente de la Convención, donde es abundante el género Cinchona. Dicha rubiácea suministra una quina que da 4 gramos de sulfato de quinina y 12 de sulfato de cinconina por kilogramo.

Luego vino el interés comercial, el deseo de los exploradores y botánicos de plantar árboles de Cinchona en otros climas y otros continentes, para explotarlos en provecho de la industria. Los Holandeses enviaron a Hasskarl, con el objeto de llevar árboles peruanos a Java. Sir Clements Markham los llevó a la India. Richard Spruce, inglés, exploró la región de Huallaga, Yurimaguas y Tarapoto, recogiendo semillas de *Cinchona succirubra*. Bajo otros climas subtropicales y con medios industriales, la explotación de la quina y la quinina, ha sido una de las principales industrias modernas.

Sando ha llevado a cabo estudios sobre los alcaloides contenidos en la *Cinchona succirubra*. Hodge ha realizado idéntica investigación sobre cuatro Cinchonas peruanas: *Cinchona humboldtiana, micratha, officinalis* y *pubescens*. La corteza colorada es pobre en contenido del alcaloide, mayor concentración en la base del tronco y menor en las partes altas del árbol. La cantidad de cinchonina es mayor en los árboles pequeños que en los viejos. La quinina se encuentra en árboles de todos los tamaños. La cinchonidina no se encuentra en las cortezas provenientes de Huánaco. Las de otros lugares contienen pequeñas cantidades. En cuanto a la cinchonina, es predominante, al punto que Hodges las clasifica en cortezas cinchoninas. Sando ha demostrado que el contenido de alcaloides cristalizables aumenta según sea la circunferencia del árbol, principalmente en la *Cinchona succirubra*.

V

El porqué no conocieron los Españoles de inmediato el secreto de la acción antifebrífuga de la corteza se debió indudablemente al hermetismo del Indígena. Pedro de Osma da la explicación en la carta que le escribe a Monardes. "Cuantas mas yervas y plantas de grandes

virtudes semejantes a estas tendrán nuestras Indias, las cuales no alcanzamos ni sabemos, porque los indios, como gente mala y enemiga nuestra, no descubrirán un secreto ni una virtud de una yerva aunque nos vean morir y aunque los asierren..."

En los primeros años de la conquista, decayó un tanto su uso, con la idea "de que un simple cálido no podía ser benéfico en ninguna enfermedad febril" (Arcos). Solamente se empleaban las Cinchonas para extraer su tinte rojo.

Y así pasaron varios años, hasta el primer tercio del siglo XVII, en que hizo su aparición en el gran público. Mas recientemente la leyenda de que fué la Condesa la que enfermó de fiebres, ha quedado desvirtuada gracias a la publicación del diario ilustrado de Suardo. En 1938, el Dr. Carlos E. Paz Soldán establece en forma incontrovertible que fué el Conde de Chinchón, y no la Condesa, quien enfermó durante largos años de paludismo y fué curado merced a la corteza amarga. El ilustre polígrafo, analizando el diario de Suardo, llega a la conclusión de que fué precisamente D. Luis Jerónimo de Cabrera y Bobadilla, Cuarto Conde de Chinchón, quien enfermó de fiebres misteriosas e intermitentes. Ellas minaron su robusto organismo por lo prolongadas y le produjeron no pocos trastornos nerviosos, hasta la "hipocondría". Juan de la Vega, galeno español de la época de auge de la medicina española, entre purgas y sangrías, le administró al Virrey infusión de la corteza amarga, curándolo de su paludismo.

La leyenda dorada de la quina toma ahora nuevo rumbo y una mayor veracidad histórica. El Conde de Chinchón, a quien debe la medicina peruana el soplo inicial de orden académico de nuestros estudios médicos, fué el que experimentó, *in anima nobile*, los efectos curativos de la cascarilla. Del Palacio de los Virreyes la corteza fué enviada a España por el médico español Juan de la Vega, llamándosele "polvos de la Condesa". Luego pasó a Italia en cofre cerrado, a manos del Cardenal Lugo; y de allí al mundo entero.

¡Loor a los modestos empíricos del Incanato, que legaron a la posteridad una droga que es orgullo de la medicina moderna!

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NOTAS SOBRE EL ARTÍCULO "EL PROBLEMA DEL INDIO" [1]

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Summary

The author of this article, disagrees with several assertations and proposals made by Prof. Aureliano Esquivel Casas in "El Problema del Indio" (América Indígena, Vol. X, Nº 1 1950, pp. 63-80) especially with those dealing with teaching to read and write in Indian languages. Less interested in answering Prof. Esquivel's objections than in indicating which are and where the best informations regarding this method of teaching may be found —the Board of Indian Languages, the Unesco, the Missions and their special organs— he supplies suitable bibliography.

According to the author, opposition to teaching in Indian languages is due, to a considerable extent, to lack of knowledge of its foundations, techniques, purposes and possibilities. He affirms that opposition is seldom reasonable, and that it is generally based upon the sentiment of what the method is believed to be or what it is wished to be. He also is of the opinion that instead of using arguments based on reasonable techniques, political and patriotic fields are invaded, thus changing the grounds for discussion. Incidentally, the author points out some contradictions and inconsistencies which he claims to find in Prof. Esquivel Casas' ideas, points out the inconveniences of direct Spanish teaching and stresses the advantages that have been observed by other Anthropologists and Educators as well as by himself in teaching to read and write in the Indian languages. He agrees that this should not be done in all places and under all circumstances, for instance among peoples where Spanish is domminant and in very small linguistic groups. He finishes by calling upon those who have not seriously studied the teaching of the alphabet in Indian languages, to do so and to examine and revise their suggestions, suggesting that both methods may be used when properly revised.

La trayectoria del Prof. Aureliano Esquivel Casas como maestro, educador y funcionario dirigente de la educación en México, invita a tomar en consideración el contenido de su artículo citado. Algunas de sus proposiciones tienen el mérito de reflejar tendencias nuevas. Otras nos son bien conocidas por encontrarse en programas educativos vigentes en varios países de América. Es posible estar de acuerdo con muchas de las ideas que expone y disentir de otras.[2] Algunos encon-

[1] Prof. Aureliano Esquivel Casas. "El Problema del Indio." *América Indígena*, Vol. X, Nº 1, pp. 63-80, México, 1950.

[2] Sin detenernos en ellas, estimamos muy debatibles la afirmación de que los "Mestizos" no se preocupan por el Indio y la proposición de que el problema indígena sea exclusivamente de Estado. La descripción que se hace del Indio

trarán materia para la reflexión en las numerosas preguntas que formula.

Las presentes notas quieren fijarse más que nada en la parte que se refiere a la alfabetización en lenguas indígenas, no tanto con el deseo de refutar, sino más bien con el de aclarar y remitir al autor del mencionado artículo —y de paso al lector interesado— a fuentes sólidas de información. Ciertas apreciaciones que aquí se anotan, pueden deberse a la falta de esas fuentes, imprescindibles para el juicio correcto.

El Prof. Esquivel Casas, al objetar el citado método, propugna no obstante por la castellanización por medio de maestros bilingües y, nos suponemos, usando la lengua indígena en forma oral. Probablemente haya cierta contradicción al sustentar ambos criterios, máxime si se tiene en cuenta el énfasis que da el autor al ataque directo y rápido de los problemas, que incluyen el de la castellanización, sin soslayarlos y sin eludirlos. Estaríamos interesados en saber cómo es que la enseñanza con maestros bilingües y presumiblemente en lengua indígena no soslaya o retarda la castellanización, mientras que la alfabetización en tal lengua sí la retarda o soslaya. Asimismo, en qué forma específica se iría a la castellanización a través del maestro bilingüe. Hubiésemos deseado que el autor elaborase el punto, ya que coincide en forma general con los alfabetizadores en lenguas vernáculas, pero disiente de los castellanizadores a ultranza.

Se hace en el artículo la afirmación, más retórica que cierta, de que el Indio viene deseando hace siglos aprender el español. Infortunadamente, esto es nada más que un buen deseo de que las cosas fueren así, o es a lo sumo una verdad parcial que se refiere a algunos Indios, no al Indio en general. Si bien es cierto que en el curso del tiempo se ha negado a muy numerosos Indios la posibilidad de castellanizarse, también es cierto que otros también muy numerosos han presentado resistencias de variada especie a la castellanización. El Indio acepta aprender el español en la medida en que sus necesidades prácticas, de prestigio o de otro orden, lo incitan o lo fuerzan a hacerlo

(p. 66), no guarda mucha similaridad con la que hacen de él los antropólogos. La proposición de emplear la televisión para los fines que se indican nos sugiere entre otras las siguientes preguntas: en países de alta heterogeneidad lingüística y gran complexidad geográfica, ¿cómo determinaría el ponente esos "lugares estratégicos" en que colocar sus receptores?; ¿en qué idiomas perifonearían esos "locutores de voz persuasiva"?; ¿qué gobiernos o instituciones privadas contarían con los medios económicos y la disposición para dar a la televisión los nobles fines que para ella se proponen? La sugerencia de "despertar en las comunidades indígenas el amor al trabajo" probablemente sea considerada como innecesaria por quienes conocen esas comunidades.

o cuando se le compele a ello, ofreciendo en múltiples casos las obstrucciones que son conocidas para todos los maestros que han trabajado en territorio indio. La afirmación, a nuestro juicio, no encuentra confirmación en muchas de las experiencias de la escuela rural en América.

Antes de detenernos en las diversas objeciones, se nos ocurre que la enseñanza en lenguas y con alfabetos indígenas podría obtener cierto apoyo precisamente en la cita de Claparède que se hace en el artículo. Sin embargo, los antropólogos y los educadores que propugnan por el método objetado, sin considerar que ofenden, se han visto obligados a demostrar algo que pudiera no necesitar demostración, que es convincente. En el siglo XVI, llevados por la experiencia adquirida, los religiosos idearon en América un método para educar a los Indios que difería radicalmente de los métodos que venían usando. Lo ideado no era nuevo, seguramente, pero esto no tiene mucha importancia. Lo que la tiene es que ese método se basaba en la idea sencilla de que se aprende mejor cuando se aprende en el propio idioma (o materno) y que la enseñanza en un idioma distinto (segunda lengua, por ejemplo) queda muchas veces en enseñanza, pero no en cosa aprendida. Ignoramos si es esta idea la que fundamenta la proposición que hace el Prof. Esquivel Casas de que los Indios sean enseñados por maestros bilingües, que consideramos inobjetable, dentro de ciertos límites y para ciertos fines. De cualquier manera, para volver al asunto, al recurso de la comunicación oral en la lengua materna del Indio se agregó el de alfabetos especiales para esta lengua, con los cuales se abría, quisiéranlo o no los religiosos, el camino para que el Indio aprendiese el alfabeto de la segunda lengua (y esta segunda lengua en general) y para que pudiese ampliar su horizonte cultural. Como es sabido, esta fué la labor discontinuada, pero otros misioneros persistieron en ella[3] y hoy en día se realiza en todas las regiones del mundo en que existen pueblos nativos o indígenas, tanto por misioneros como por educadores seculares.

[3] El Prof. Robert E. Park, en "Missions and the Modern World", *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. L, Nº 3, 1944, asentó lo que sigue, cuya lectura podría detener, siquiera por un momento, el juicio precipitado: "Los misioneros han aprendido los idiomas de los pueblos y han establecido escuelas en las cuales han llevado a cabo la alfabetización de los llamados pueblos pre-alfabetos haciéndolo en el idioma materno de éstos. De este modo, les han permitido el acceso al conocimiento que poseen los pueblos alfabetizados, y cuya falta en los pre-alfabetos era el principal responsable de su llamado retardo. Esto, por sí solo, ha contribuído más que cualquier otra cosa a hacer del mundo lo que Mr. Willkie descubrió recientemente que es: un mundo, tanto económica como política y culturalmente."

Ciertos argumentos en favor de la alfabetización en lenguas vernáculas —una parte del sistema o método total— han sido expuestos por la antropóloga Margaret Mead quien, al igual que otros de su especialidad, se ha ocupado en problemas de educación en pueblos "primitivos" o "semi-primitivos", por ser éstos el principal sujeto de su estudio. Lo que esa autora dice contesta en forma general las objeciones formuladas por el Prof. Esquivel Casas: "Los esfuerzos hechos para alfabetizar a pueblos analfabetos o pre-alfabetos nos permiten decir ya que una condición básica para el éxito de la alfabetización en gran escala de esos pueblos es que debe realizarse en la lengua materna. Con la salvedad que ofrecen algunos casos excepcionales, el alfabetismo logrado en una lengua distinta a la materna tiende a quedar como un alfabetismo superficial y no guarda comparación con la alfabetización del individuo que aprendió a leer en la lengua en que lo arrulló su madre al dormirlo. Este hecho explica no sólo el éxito relativamente más considerable obtenido por los Holandeses al llevar a los Indígenas de las Indias Orientales desde la escuela primaria hasta el nivel secundario y preparatorio en el curso de una generación, sino que explica también el fracaso de los esfuerzos de los Norteamericanos para alfabetizar nada más que medianamente a los Indios que viven en un ambiente tribal. A pesar del aparente desperdicio de tiempo que significa enseñar a los niños a leer y escribir en idiomas y dialectos que carecen de literatura hecha en el pasado o por lo menos contemporánea, parece ser éste el único modo como puede conseguirse la alfabetización completa. Como se ha demostrado múltiples veces en las Indias Orientales, una vez que han hecho las conexiones básicas, los alumnos pueden pasar rápidamente a la alfabetización en otro idioma."[4]

La existencia de un volumen considerable —en realidad aplastante— de materiales que contienen discusiones directamente relacionadas con el asunto y sus conexos (bilingüismo, problemas psicológicos, etc.), muchos de los cuales apoyan el método objetado, nos liberan de emplear espacio reproduciéndolos. Algunos, en español, como los del Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas[5] y los publicados por los Profesores

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[4] Margaret Mead, "Professional Problems of Education in Dependent Countries", en *The Problems of Education in Dependent Territories, The Journal of Negro Education, The Year Book*, N° XV, pp. 346-57, Washington, 1946.

[5] *Memoria de la Primera Asamblea de Filólogos y Lingüistas*, Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, México, 1940. "El Instituto de Alfabetización en Lenguas Indígenas", *Boletín Indigenista*, Vol. V, N° 2, pp. 160-80, México, 1945. Además, Alfredo Barrera Vásquez, *Cómo resuelve México el Problema de la Alfabetización de sus Indígenas Monolingües*, México, 1946.

Swadesh [6] y Granov,[7] son claros y precisos. De acuerdo con lo que sabemos, la UNESCO está en posibilidad de proporcionar otros,[8] y las centrales de las Misiones y sus agencias especiales, están en semejante capacidad.[9] El *Instituto Indigenista Interamericano* haría de seguro una labor meritoria reuniendo y publicando una selección o un compendio de esos documentos, máxime cuando la alfabetización en lenguas vernáculas, aprobada desde la primera reunión que dio origen a dicho *Instituto,* continúa siendo censurada sin conocimiento.

Remitiendo así al autor y al lector interesado a las mejores fuentes posibles de información y prueba, nos limitaremos a ir de un modo general a los argumentos expuestos en el artículo que se comenta. A nuestro juicio, la alfabetización en lenguas indígenas no soslaya la castellanización, por más que reconozca el uso de esas lenguas como "puente" para llegar al español, expresión que denota el empleo de un recurso que, considerado en abstracto, no difiere gran cosa de otros recursos que se emplean en educación. Es inexacto decir que el método soslaya la castellanización. Es más exacto afirmar que quienes lo emplean lo tienen como un medio para llegar a otro medio y con éste a ciertos objetivos más amplios, en tanto que muchos que propugnan por la castellanización directa tienen a la castellanización poco menos que como un fin en sí. Una diferencia básica en el empleo de uno y otro método se encuentra en que, al emplear el de la alfabetización en lengua indígena, se ponen cimientos sólidos, o como dice Mead,

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[6] Mauricio Swadesh, *La Nueva Filología*, Ediciones de "El Nacional", México. Además, por el mismo autor, una exposición completa y lúcida, hecha en los siguientes trabajos, publicados en forma mimeográfica: *La contribución del Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas a la educación indígena; La capacidad expresiva de las lenguas nativas; Métodos de alfabetización en lenguas nativas; El alfabeto y la labor de alfabetización; El Congreso Lingüístico y la educación rural* y *El Proyecto Tarasco.*

[7] B. Granov, *Creación de la escritura para los pequeños pueblos de la URSS.* Instituto de la Lengua y la Escritura. Academia de Ciencias de la URSS.

[8] La UNESCO es posiblemente hoy en día uno de los organismos internacionales que concentran el mayor volumen de información sobre el asunto. Documentos producidos por ella que conocemos y cuya consulta es en extremo útil son los siguientes: *Fudamental Education, Common Ground for All People*, París, 1947. *La Enseñanza de Idiomas* y UNESCO y *Reunion d'Experts sur les Problèmes de Langues dans l'Education de Base*, 1947. Uno de sus "Resúmenes Analíticos y Bibliografía", Junio de 1949, Vol. 1, N° 4, proporciona información sobre el asunto y conexos.

[9] Estos últimos organismos son asimismo depositarios de un caudal de información y experiencia, del que citamos sólo dos obras del Profesor Frank C. Laubach: *Toward a Literate World*, New York, 1938, y *Teaching the World to Read*, New York, 1948.

se establecen las "conexiones básicas", sin pretender ganar el camino de la noche a la mañana, como si se dijera, en tanto que con la castellanización directa se construyen frecuentemente fundaciones deleznables al pretender hacer transformaciones rápidas y radicales.

Se objeta a la alfabetización en lenguas indígenas porque, se dice, entraña el abandono del alfabeto "indígena" y la pérdida de tiempo y esfuerzo preciosos, al no tener el Indio ocasión posterior de usar dicho alfabeto y porque así está dispuesto. La primera afirmación es un tanto inexacta. El método entraña el abandono de nada más que unos signos del alfabeto, que en unos casos se reducen a muy pocos y en otros son más. Tal abandono se da si lo quiere el estudiante y si la política general consiste en negar educación sucesiva al Indio en su propio idioma, o en no fomentar ciertas contribuciones valiosas que el Indio puede dar a las letras y a las ciencias usando su propio idioma, contribuciones que pueden no ser las únicas. La política varía según los países y la de México, en mi concepto, no es probablemente la mejor, punto en que tal vez coincida con el Prof. Esquivel Casas. Sin embargo, las desventajas que presenta el desaprender algunos signos es reconocidamente compensada por la fijeza que adquieren los demás, que generalmente incluyen los del español (en América Hispana) incorporados en la lengua vernácula. La tendencia general es, en efecto, la de elaborar alfabetos que contengan el mayor número posible de signos del segundo alfabeto o idioma.[10] Compárese —en igualdad de circunstancias— el número de signos del alfabeto indígena que el estudiante debe desaprender, siguiendo el método objetado, con el abandono de casi todo el alfabeto español que mal aprendió el estudiante con la castellanización directa y que abandona precisamente por la razón de que no tiene uso para ese alfabeto. De hecho, comparando ese primer abandono de que hablamos con el de la gran mayoría de las enseñanzas que se dan en la escuela rural que de poco o nada sirven al Indígena en su medio (eso cuando las aprendió, ya que con frecuencia, lo que el maestro dijo, sólo él lo entendió), tal vez se llegara a la consideración de que es menos terrible y perjudicial aprender unos cuantos signos y desaprenderlos, que concurrir a una escuela rural indígena durante varios años para casi nada. Lo importante no es, sin embargo, el que se olviden unos signos, sino, sea cual sea el método seguido en la alfabetización —ya que ambos con-

[10] Por lo menos, es la tendencia en México, Perú, entendemos que Guatemala, y en la URSS, según se desprende de lo asentado por el Prof. Granov, quien nos habla de la síntesis del alfabeto histórico y el fonémico.

ducen a la castellanización—, qué es lo que va a hacer el estudiante con lo que aprendió, qué educación subsecuente se le va a dar.

Se califica el alfabeto indígena de artificioso, afirmando que el Indio no lo ha creado, cosas que implícitamente parecen estimarse como factores en contra del alfabeto dicho. Si tal es el pensamiento, la discusión del punto es un tanto banal. Los mismos alfabetos históricos (o tradicionales) son un tanto artificiosos, y más artificiosos aún los dictados de la Academia. Es evidente que algunos signos en los alfabetos tradicionales hacen a éstos objetables (en comparación con los alfabetos científicos, que lo son desde otro punto de vista), pero esto no impide su uso. Sin embargo, y por razones que se encuentran en la literatura al respecto, los alfabetos científicos de las lenguas vernáculas se mezclan un poco con los históricos, y queremos suponer que esto haga de aquéllos algo menos artificioso, o algo merecedor de consideración. El que el Indio no haya creado el alfabeto de su lengua apenas si puede tomarse como argumento en contra. Tampoco ha creado el Indio el alfabeto español, y el Mestizo tampoco lo ha creado. Tales cosas no constituyen objeciones para que se enseñe al Indio y al Mestizo ese alfabeto, ni con ese alfabeto.

Parece decírsenos —no muy claramente, y abordamos la cuestión con base poco firme— que la alfabetización en lenguas indígenas es un método impositivo. Probablemente se refiere que no es aceptada por los Indios, pero que se obliga a éstos a aceptarla. Si es así, tal vez sea igualmente impositivo enseñarles en su propio idioma sin el auxilio del alfabeto especial. Podemos afirmar con todo conocimiento que hay Indios que no están de acuerdo con que se les alfabetice en su propio idoma, otros más también para quienes es impositivo el que se les enseñe en español y de modo más general, que se les moleste o se les afecte en sus intereses haciéndoles ir a la escuela. Conviniendo con el Prof. Esquivel en lo indeseable de las imposiciones, observando que algunas veces son necesarias, y reconociendo que es preferible obtener el asentimiento del Indio al efectuar algunas modificaciones en su vida y cultura, sólo cabría preguntar aquí por qué razón rechazarían algunos Indios la alfabetización que proponemos y la enseñanza por medio de maestros bilingües y presumiblemente en lengua indígena que propone el educador. La respuesta se halla tal vez en la actitud tradicional hacia el Indígena y su cultura, que es de subvaluación, y que aquél ha aceptado.

El profesor Esquivel Casas no favorece las "cartillas bilingües" por la parte que contienen en idioma vernáculo y, en relación con la falta de literatura subsecuente en lengua indígena porque, dice, "si faltan

libros en español para los niños mestizos, ¿cómo no han de faltar para los niños indígenas libros escritos en lengua indígena?" Simpatizamos en cierta medida con la actitud señalada hacia las "cartillas bilingües", aunque por otros motivos. Esto es, consideramos preferibles las monolingües —en idioma indígena puramente, o sólo en español—, por lo que al respecto han dicho algunos lingüistas y maestros en idiomas. Pero el razonamiento nos recuerda otro que hemos oído con alguna frecuencia: "si faltan escuelas (o materiales escolares, u otras cosas) para la población mestiza, ¿cómo no han de faltar para la población indígena?" Si las cartillas en lenguas vernáculas no tuvieran varias justificaciones técnicas, en las que es necesario insistir, creemos tendrían una justificación social, dada la común actitud de dejar al Indio a lo último de los beneficios sociales.

Aceptamos que el español es un medio de defensa del Indio, pero agregamos que su idioma propio es también un medio de defensa para él. Convenimos en que es absolutamente justo castellanizar al Indio, pero disentimos de la afirmación de que no se le quiere quitar su idioma. La supresión de los idiomas indígenas ha sido un objetivo, si no directo, sí indirecto de la política incorporativa, que se razona o justifica en términos que no serán aquí objeto de comentario. Al asentar lo anterior queremos aclarar que no estamos tomando el partido de mantener indefinidamente el "babilonismo", donde existe, ni sustentando la opinión de que la "desbabilonización" sea necesariamente mala, sino asentado nada más algo verificable, que contradice la afirmación hecha.[11]

Al preguntar el autor si "los apóstoles de las cartillas bilingües creen lícito jugar con los intereses materiales, morales y espirituales del Indio" hace de hecho, o eso entendemos por lo menos, una acusación —que estimamos injusta e infundada— a hombres de ciencia, misioneros, maestros y educadores que están por encima de toda sospecha en sus móviles hacia el Indio. Esto, en América, pero si se reconoce —como no podría menos que reconocerse— que el método preconizado y usado en otras regiones no difiere esencialmente del empleado en nuestro Continente, la acusación envuelve nuevamente a personas como las dichas y aun a organismos insospechables de tales fines.

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[11] A la inversa de los antropólogos, el Prof. Esquivel quizá nunca tuvo la oportunidad de ver en las aulas de las escuelas indígenas ciertos letreros en los cuales se leía muy claramente: "Se prohibe hablar idioma", ni ha encontrado esta prohibición aún vigente, aunque no ya expuesta en tal forma. So capa de favorecer el rápido aprendizaje del español, éste es nada más que uno de los modos de desalentar el uso de las lenguas vernáculas.

Apreciaciones muy similares a las que han sido objeto de comentario aquí y de refutación allá en estas notas, constituyen el bagaje común de argumentos de los opositores a la alfabetización en lenguas indígenas, personas de magníficas intenciones hacia el Indio, que han encontrado, sin embargo, difícil concebir que ese modo de alfabetizar pueda ser tan bueno como el que ellas invocan y menos aún superarlo. No se trata de personas de tendencia necesariamente conservadora, ya que han abierto los brazos a toda clase de escuelas, todo género de planes, a la educación audo-visual, a tantas cosas modernas. Pero sí se trata de personas que han derivado sus argumentos no de un examen cuidadoso del método y de lo que lo fundamenta, menos aún de las experiencias universales que con él se han hecho, sino de lo que creen que es. Sin ponerlo a prueba, adelantan lo que creen serán sus resultados, que tampoco prueban. Por lo común, no se apoyan en la razón, sino en el sentimiento, el cual racionalizan con argumentos patrióticos o políticos, nunca técnicos —un sesgo muy conocido en nuestro medio. La mayoría, si no la totalidad de los que conoce el que esto escribe, jamás han intentado ensayar, y en el salto o la liga que dan o hacen entre castellanización y nacionalidad, pierden de vista lo formidable, complejo y tardado de crear una nacionalidad y sobre-estiman los procedimientos que invocan para construirla. A muchos de ellos les es más fácil hacer a un lado el "nuevo" método y obstruir el trabajo que con él se hace, con las consecuencias que esto tiene para el educando indígena, que examinarlo, ver sus posibilidades y contribuir constructivamente a la causa que creen defender ellos solos. Si el educando tartamudea, equivoca las representaciones de los sonidos de habla, memoriza, no comprende lo que lee ni lo que oye, aprende superficialmente, adquiere complejos indeseables, y fracasa, y si la escuela rural indígena fracasa, según la opinión general, les es más fácil arrojar la culpabilidad al maestro que buscar la dependencia de tales resultados con una situación intercultural y social y en buena medida, con un método deficiente.[12]

Estoy pronto a reconocer que la educación en lenguas indígenas y más concretamente la alfabetización en lenguas indígenas no es panacea para los males cada vez más numerosos de la educación indígena; que no es aplicable en todos los casos ni en todos los pueblos o grupos indígenas; [13] que no es absolutamente fácil de implantar y mantener,

[12] Si bien este párrafo se refiere específicamente a la situación en México, creemos que es aplicable en mayor o menor medida a otros países americanos. Los resultados que se mencionan son de incidencia casi universal.

[13] Por ejemplo, a comunidades altamente castellanizadas y a miembros de

sobre todo cuando a ella se oponen el tradicionalismo, la conveniencia, el prestigio personal, la desorganización o la inercia. Es sólo uno de los medios para que la educación indígena pueda evitar caer o seguir cayendo en resultados como los que se mencionaron y en otros que afectan el progreso del Indio. Su principal desventaja —aquí se va sólo a repetir lo que dijo un perito— consiste en que, como todas las cosas bien hechas, cuestan algún trabajo.

Considerando que mucha de la oposición a la alfabetización en lenguas indígenas resulta de la falta de conocimiento sólido del método y de la mala interpretación derivada de ella, repetimos, estas notas tienen por objeto principal remitir al lector interesado a dichas fuentes, y desean terminar con una invitación y una presentación de agradecimiento. La primera, a quienes no se han percatado de un modo completo de lo que es la alfabetización en lenguas indígenas, para que revisen sus técnicas, sus finalidades, lo que ofrece y puede cumplir, las opiniones razonadas en pro y en contra y que revisen asimismo los resultados del método. La segunda, al Prof. Esquivel Casas, por decir cuál es su modo de pensar, aunque lamentando que lo haga cuando las voces progresistas son cada vez más apagadas y escasas y sin presentar los razonamientos técnicos que pudieran dar apoyo sólido a sus argumentaciones. Por supuesto, una conclusión a la que llega este artículo es la de que hay lugar para ambos métodos, previa revisión de ellos.[14]

grupos lingüísticos muy pequeños. A nuestro juicio, el "Proyecto Náhuat" del Instituto de Alfabetización tenía bases falsas al no fijarse en esas condiciones.

[14] Un último proyecto de trabajo o algo semejante del Instituto de Alfabetización para Indígenas Monolingües contiene ya ciertas proposiciones que de tiempo atrás venían haciendo anteriores y actuales miembros del mismo, tal vez nada nuevas, pero seguramente viables y útiles. Por ejemplo, comenzar —después de treinta años de escuela rural— por la formación planificada de maestros rurales salidos de todos los grupos indígenas o de los más importantes. Grupos como el Chinanteco, para mencionar sólo uno de aquellos en que persiste un gran aislamiento y un alto monolingüismo, dependen para su educación de maestros de habla española puramente o de bilingües que no hablan chinanteco, sino otro idioma indígena.

O PENSAMENTO ANTROPOLOGICO DE ARTUR RAMOS

Por Egon Schaden
(Brasil)

Summary

On October 31, 1949 the noted Brazilian Anthropologist Dr. Arthur Ramos passed away unexpectedly in Paris. His brilliant career, especially as perspicacious investigator of the social formation of his country and in particular of its ethnical characteristics had brought him to a leading position in Brazilian Anthropology.

The work of Dr. Ramos in this scientific field has not as yet been properly appraised in regards to its influence in American Anthropology. But it may be affirmed that his works had a definite goal in view from the beginning and that he endeavored, as one of his purposes, to prove that American cultures had their own personality, as well as much to offer to world culture in originality and valuable concepts.

In these last years, the scientific personality of Dr. Artur Ramos has passed the boundaries of his country, and at the time of his death he held the position of Chief of the Department of Social Sciences of the Unesco, where he was preparing an extensive and vigorous plan of activities.

His publications number more than 200 titles, his splendid work in two volumes Introdução a Antropologia Brasileira being one of the most important.

It is not the purpose of this Summary, nor would its nature allow it, to judge Dr. Ramos' meritorious work. But in the following lines Dr. E. Schaden offers a brief outline of that work, this being a small tribute which our Magazine is glad to publish with its sincere approval, participating in the public sentiment over this irreparable loss to American science.

A antropologia brasileira está de luto. Foi-lhe arrebatado inesperadamente um de seus mais devotados cultores no vigor da inteligência, do entusiasmo e da capacidade de trabalho. Artur Ramos estava na primeira linha entre os que souberam conquistar para a Ciência do Homem um lugar de honra nos currículos universitários brasileiros. Além disso, conseguiu impor a sua personalidade de professor e de cientista dentro e fora das fronteiras do país. Em 31 de Outubro de 1949, faleceu em Paris, aos 46 anos de idade, como chefe do Departamento de Ciências Sociais da Unesco.

Os trabalhos de Artur Ramos somam mais de duzentos títulos, entre livros, ensaios e artigos. É claro que não se pode ainda precisar o significado dessa contribuição para o conhecimento das origens e das características étnicas do Brasil. O julgamento, para ser válido, não deverá precindir da perspectiva do tempo. A parte nuclear da obra de Artur Ramos são as pesquisas sôbre o negro brasileiro, domínio em

que foi o mestre mais competente e a que dedicou a maioria de seus escritos, desde os primeiros artigos, publicados aos dezenove anos de idade. Em vez de encarar êste assunto, prefiro apontar aquí as linhas mestras de seu pensamento antropológico, por êle próprio esboçadas em varias ocasiões de sua vida.

Como professor da Faculdade Nacional de Filosofia orientou a sua atividade por um duplo objetivo: em primeiro lugar, uma unificação metodológica dos estudos de antropologia e, em segundo, a sua aplicação nacional. Reconhecendo a arbitrariedade da antiga cisão dêsses estudos en duas ciências distintas, uma natural, "irmã gêmea da zoologia", e outra social, "disputando o seu lugar ao sol com a sociologia", tomou desde o princípio uma posição definida e inequívoca em face da demarcação de seu campo de trabalho. ("As novas diretrizes da antropologia". *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, vol. LXXVII, págs. 111-117. São Paulo, 1941.) A própria razão de ser de uma ciência antropológica, a o lado da história, da sociologia, da psicologia e de outras que por sua vez investigam fenômenos humanos, dependia, para êle, de uma visão humanística no sentido de uma focalização do homem em sua totalidade, como ser biológico e criador de cultura a um tempo. Por isso, não teve também dúvidas em remeter para o reino da ficção a esdrúxula idéia do "homem natural", tão cara a muitos antropólogos do século passado. A existência da cultura está implícita na própria definição do ser humano. Isto, por outro lado, não impede que uma tradição de estudo ou então conveniências de ordem didática nos façam aceitar uma divisão geral em antropologia física, de um lado, e etnologia ou antropologia cultural ou social (conforme a posição teórica), do outro —sob a condição, naturalmente, de não se perderem nunca de vista os objetivos fundamentais que unem essas disciplinas.

Artur Ramos foi dos primeiros que no Brasil se insurgiram contra uma "etnologia ptolomeica, que poria o homem da cultura ocidental no centro da escala de valores da história da humanidade". Se é certo que o homem primitivo pode aprender do civilizado uma infinidade de coisas no campo da tecnologia, não há dúvida também de que o homem das comunidades tribais é capaz de ministrar a êste "a lição larga de uma filosofia da vida, de uma concepção do mundo e dos elementos da sua cultura espiritual". *(Loc. cit.*, pág. 113.) Na maioria dos paises de antigas e sólidas tradições universitárias tem-se por evidente, de há muito, a impossibilidade de se reivindicar qualificação científica para os estudos antropológicos que não satisfaçam o requisito fundamental de uma atitude objetiva na interpretação dos fatos

observados. No Brasil é sòmente agora que essa exigência começa a ser aceita e respeitada pelos estudiosos dos fenômenos raciais e culturais. É uma conquista recente e de grande alcance, devida em parte à atividade de Artur Ramos na Universidade do Brasil.

O reconhecimento de que tôda cultura, por mais estável que possa parecer, está sujeita, na realidade, a constantes transformações motivadas por fatores intrínsecos e extrínsecos, fundamentou a diretriz metodológica de suas pesquisas. Na dinâmica das culturas, especialmente nos fenômenos de mudança cultural e de aculturação, é que via as questões dominantes da ciência antropológica. E para a investigação adequada dessas questões exigia um método eclético, no qual dominassem a tendência funcionalista e a focalização da personalidade cultural. Dentro dêsse ecletismo, a perspectiva histórica e o conceito das áreas culturais ou funcionais lhe serviam como recursos metodológicos de natureza secundária, utilizáveis na medida em que completassem a compreensão do homem, que "é o produto dos seus padrões de cultura, embora faça esforços individuais para se libertar dêste mundo de adjacências psíquicas, sem jamais o conseguir de todo". *(Loc. cit.*, pág. 115.) E a conciência de que ao método eclético inere sempre o perigo de levar ao diletantismo se não vier escoltado por intransigente e rigorosa atitude crítica dava-lhe autoridade e credenciais para imprimir a seus estudos um cunho bastante pessoal sem com isso comprometer o valor científico das conclusões.

O homem da rua não pode facer ciência. Todavia não deve ficar alheio aos resultados da pesquisa, quando êstes destroem preconceitos e são capazes de contribuir, de um modo ou de outro, para a construção de um futuro melhor. Sem chegar ao extremo de preconizar um estreito pragmatismo, que seria perigoso e contraproducente, Artur Ramos exigia, por isso, uma conexão orgânica entre o pensamento do antropólogo e os interêsses vitais do povo e dos povos, atitude de espírito que se foi definindo e firmando cada vez mais no fim de sua carreira. Ao contrário de certos autores granfinos, que julgam os seus escritos dignos de figurar sòmente em publicações sizudas, em que os nomes proprios sejam compostas em versal e versalete, escrevia também regularmente em jornais e revistas lidas pelo povo simples, numa linguagem chã, isenta de termos arrevesados. — Haverá mesmo, no setor da Ciência do Homem, verdades de capital importância cuja essência não se possa exprimir de maneira acessível a todos?

Para que a antropologia não se reduza a simples passatempo de intelectuais, ela não deve perder a sua ligação com os problemas e as necessidades dos grupos humanos. O interêsse que desde a sua moci-

dade dispensou à psicologia e à criminologia, a par de sua formação e prática de médico, fez com que Artur Ramos sempre orientasse os seus estudos segundo êste princípio. Em caso algum as suas preocupações científicas poderiam ter descambado para uma "culturologia" estéril. "O moderno antropólogo deve ter em mira que detrás dos traços da cultura que êle observa está o agente que os produziu, o Homem, objeto último de sua perquirição." ("Os grandes problemas da antropologia brasileira", *Sociologia*, vol. X, pág. 216. São Paulo, 1948. Publicado também na revista *América Indígena*, vol. IX, págs. 7-20, México, 1949.) E dentro dêste espírito reclamava a aplicação nacional dos resultados a que chegasse a investigação antropológica. Através de trabalhos monográficos e de estudos-de-comunidade sôbre os grupos humanos de vária natureza disseminados em tôdas as latitudes do Brasil, nas matas, nos campos e nas cidades, construir-se-ia, passo a passo, o quadro da composição racial e cultural do Brasil, em cuja elaboração não se descurasse, de forma alguma, da análise psicológica dos indivíduos em suas relações com a cultura total. Sòmente depois disso é que se poderia talvez indagar do "caráter nacional" ou "ethos brasileiro". Artur Ramos opunha-se assim, declaradamente, aos historiadores e sociólogos que não se atemorizam diante da aventura de "interpretar" o Brasil de modo apriorístico e aos que, sôbre a base dessas "interpretações" arrojadas, traçam planos normativos de ação. Nos últimos anos, vem-se criando no Brasil uma atmosfera favorável à fundamentação científica de normas administrativas no domínio das relações humanas, embora os nossos governos não tenham chegado ainda a reconhecer a necessidade de uma antropologia aplicada, "que poderia parecer aos políticos e administradores mal avisados tarefa de perigosa agitação subversiva, como é vezo considerar tudo aquilo que, entre nós, procura remover o bolor da rotina ou do primarismo". (*Loc. cit.*, pág. 226.) Entretanto, os primeiros brotos de uma nova mentalidade já se fazem notar em vários departamentos administrativos, como o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (com a sua secção de estudos etnológicos), o Instituto Nacional de Estudos Pedagógicos e o Conselho Nacional de Imigração e Colonização. Nos cursos teóricos ministrados na Faculdade Nacional de Filosofia, Artur Ramos insistiu sempre no aspecto prático de sua especialidade, no intuito de formar técnicos em a antropologia que pudessem ser recrutados pelas varias instituições. Ao mesmo tempo incentivava trabalhos práticos entre os alunos, com os quais estudou, por exemplo, as levas de imigrantes que chegaram ao Rio de Janeiro em 1947; assim foram elaboradas cêrca de 3200 fichas, principalmente do ponto-de-vista dos caracteres raciais.

É verdade que Artur Ramos nunca reclamou títulos de grande originalidade para o seu pensamento antropológico, quer no tocante à posição teórica, quer em relação à metodologia. Mas nem por isso deixou de desempenhar um papel de renovador. Desempenhou-o pela maneira destemida com que lutou contra velhos estereótipos e interpretações tendenciosas que se vinham repetindo irrefletidamente em muitos livros sôbre o Brasil, como também pelo esfôrço honesto de guiar-se, em seus próprios estudos, pelos princípios dominantes da antropologia moderna.

Que valham, pois, estas linhas como preito de homenagem —muito modesta, mas também muito sincera— a êste homem que foi, sem dúvida, um dos mais inteligentes e ativos antropólogos do Brasil.

Indios del Sur de Pariaguan y El Tigre. Estado Anzoátegui, Venezuela
Foto Jos. M.ª Cruxent

PERSONALITY AND GOVERNMENT

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATION RESEARCH *

By Laura Thompson
(United States)

Sumario

La tribu Navaho, compuesta de unos 60,000 Indios de raza pura, habita 25,000 millas² de tierras altas y áridas en Arizona, Nuevo México y Utah. Esta tribu, la mayor de los Estados Unidos, habla su propio idioma atabasco del sur (menos del 10 % entiende el inglés) y se adhiere tenazmente a sus tradiciones y costumbres. Este grupo de cazadores y guerreros, más o menos recientemente establecido en el SO, aprovechó un momento histórico favorable en el que la vida de los Indios Pueblo se veía complicada por las conquistas de los Españoles y luego de los Americanos, para invadir su territorio y extenderse rápidamente por él. Copiando técnicas y costumbfes de sus nuevos vecinos, desarrollaron un tipo de economía fundado en la agricultura, la ganadería y la guerra y un tipo de organización sencilla y matrilineal de gran familia. No habiendo sido convertidos al Catolicismo por los Españoles, los Navahos tuvieron poco contacto directo con el hombre blanco, hasta que en 1864 fueron derrotados por el ejército de los Estados Unidos. Después de un período de cuatro años de cautiverio, la tribu adquirió, merced a un tratado, una Reservación de 3.500,000 acres de tierra y dotaciones de ovejas y cabras. En los siguientes tres cuartos de siglo, los Navahos han aumentado en población aproximadamente un 400 %. (2 % anual, como promedio) y obtenido concesiones federales de tierras que representan más del 460 % de su territorio original. Estas concesiones comprenden el uso de las tres cuartas partes de la antigua Reservación Hopi, que ahora están ocupadas por pastores navahos.

En recientes investigaciones se ha comprobado sin lugar a dudas que los Navahos, como grupo, no pueden ser transformados rápidamente en una comunidad típicamente americana, de habla inglesa y que tenga la idiosincrasia, costumbres, mentalidad y nivel de vida americanos, ni sus normas sanitarias y educacionales. Esta transformación no puede efectuarse, independientemente del poco o mucho dinero que se invierta en la Reservación y de la manera como sea gastado, e independientemente también del número de Americanos que creen que ésta es la solución del "problema" navaho (y es asombroso el número de Americanos que así lo estiman) Los datos recopilados demuestran que cuanto mayores sean los esfuerzos de la Agencia Navaho en este sentido, mayor también será el temor, el resentimiento y la hostilidad de las comunidades navaho, más precaria será su salud física y mental, más intensa será su vida ceremonial y más obstinada su resistencia hacia el hombre blanco y su gobierno.

Todo parece indicar que la tribu navaho, el mayor grupo analfabeto y no industrializado de los Estados Unidos, permanecerá, cuando menos durante algún tiempo todavía, como una entidad separada cultural, lingüística, económica y colectivamente hablando. Sin embargo, en todos los conti-

* This is the second of several installments of a volume to be published by the *Instituto*.

nentes donde hay grandes regiones desérticas y semidesérticas, existen, protegidas por los gobiernos, estas tribus étnicamente distintas, y por lo general no se espera su rápida adaptación a la moderna civilización industrial ni que abandonen sus costumbres, salvo que sean trasladadas a otros medios. Evidentemente, para poder sobrevivir en el desierto estas tribus tienen que ajustarse a sistemas de vida tradicionales que la experiencia de los siglos ha demostrado son los mejores para sobrellevar los rigores del clima. Mientras los Navahos sigan habitando tierras desérticas y semidesérticas, y dependan esencialmente de la tierra para su subsistencia, necesitan conservar su modo de vida como una unidad para poder sobrevivir. Cualquier cambio que provenga del exterior debe tomarse en consideración y ajustarse a moldes preexistentes.

Entre los Navahos, como en cualquier otra parte, en este mundo moderno en que la población aumenta rápidamente con relación a los recursos naturales, los mejores medios para lograr una verdadera solución al problema de la administración y el bienestar de la tribu, con miras a satisfacer las necesidades específicas de sus miembros y a conservar y desarrollar sus recursos naturales, consisten en la elaboración de un programa de largo alcance cuyo objeto sea estimular, guiar y enseñar a los miembros de las comunidades a enfrentarse a las realidades, a aceptar la responsabilidad de resolver sus propios problemas, inclusive el de su población que crece rápidamente en un territorio limitado.

Los resultados de las investigaciones demuestran que tal programa, para ser en verdad efectivo, debe tomar en consideración los factores básicos de la situación de los Navahos, entre los que se cuentan:

1. La "psicología" de estas gentes, especialmente: a) la tendencia de los Navahos a enfrentarse a los problemas en forma simplista, influída por la magia, su falta de comprensión de las cosas abstractas y de relaciones intrincadas o complejas, su falta de interés hacia planes o preparativos para un futuro remoto y su mentalidad en extremo realista; b) la confianza de los Navahos en sus posibilidades de luchar ventajosamente contra las fuerzas de su medio ambiente, inclusive el gobierno y sus empleados, por procedimientos sobrenaturales de magia, creencia ésta que los vuelve tercos y en ciertos casos, agresivos; c) el temor de los Navahos hacia el gobierno y hacia los extraños, su falta de confianza en los Americanos blancos y su gobierno, su resistencia y hostilidad hacia los funcionarios públicos; d) la dificultad del idioma.

2. La organización social y económica de los Navahos, especialmente: a) su carácter disperso y desarticulado, siendo su única base la familia y el "grupo"; b) la ausencia de mecanismos tradicionales que favorezcan la organización de la tribu y la solidaridad; c) el carácter sutil y disimulado de la autoridad entre los Navahos y las facultades de dirección de las mujeres de la tribu; d) la costumbre de decidir toda cuestión por unanimidad.

3. La ecología de los Navahos, especialmente; a) lo extenso y remoto de su Reservación; b) la deficiencia de los medios de comunicación y transporte; c) el clima extremoso; d) los limitados recursos naturales que requieren inversiones de capital, créditos y gran habilidad técnica para su aprovechamiento intenso y eficaz.

Resulta recomendable reorganizar la administración de los Navahos, enfocándola sobre los grupos naturales formados por los Indios para que desarrollen sus actividades a través de las grandes familias y "grupos"; la "indigenización"

del sistema escolar y del servicio médico de la Agencia; la alfabetización en masa, en el idioma nativo; y favorecer el desarrollo de los recursos naturales conservando la tierra, regulando el uso de tierras de pastoreo, mejorando los procedimientos agrícolas y favoreciendo la irrigación y las pequeñas industrias de carácter local que sean adecuadas.

PART II

RESUME OF TRIBAL FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter 3

THE NAVAHO[1]

The Navaho tribe numbers about 60,000 Indians[2] who inhabit a gross area of 16,750,000 acres of desert and semi-desert land in the high plateau region of the great American Southwest. Some 15,445,000 acres of this area, located in northern Arizona, New Mexico and Utah, comprise the Navaho reservation. Six hundred thousand acres east of, and contiguous to, the reservation boundary in New Mexico, consist of allotments to individual Navaho Indians, and an additional 700,000 acres of public grazing lands are being used by members of the tribe.

Most of the Navaho are "full-bloods" and all of them speak the Navaho language which belongs, with Western Apache, to the southern branch of the Athabascan linguistic stock. At least eighty percent of the Navaho cannot speak English.[3]

History

Of considerable significance to our understanding of Navaho administrative problems is the fact that these Indians[4] were, until com-

[1] The Navaho chapter of this study is based mainly on factual material presented in Kluckhohn and Leighton; Leighton and Kluckhohn; and in various United States Indian Service reports on the Navaho tribe.

[2] The Navaho tribe numbered about 55,000 at the time of the field work for the present research (U. S. Department of the Interior, 1946). On account of the difficulties involved in obtaining accurate census records on most Indian reservations, vital statistics regarding Indian tribes should be regarded as approximations indicative of trends rather than as numerically exact population figures. It should also be noted that there is considerable discrepancy in statistics found in various government reports. Due to rapid population increase the Navaho tribe now numbers approximately 61,000 (Secretary of the Interior, 1948 b, p. VII).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[4] The Navaho were primarily *raiders* (interested in capturing food, women, horses and other booty) rather than warriors or military fighters such as the Plains Indians. (Kluckhohn and Leighton, p. 5).

paratively recent times, a hunting and raiding people who began to appear in northern and western New Mexico from farther north a few hundred years ago. No evidence has been found of Navaho camp sites in the Southwest earlier than the 16th century and there is no historical reference to the tribe before 1626, by which time the Navaho had acquired farming techniques from the Pueblos. Apparently they did not yet have livestock or weaving. Their ceremonies and mythology were also greatly influenced by contact with the Pueblos.

The Navaho, rendered highly mobile by the acquisition of the horse in historic times, encroached on the hunting grounds and raided the gardens and livestock of the sedentary Rio Grande Pueblos. Expanding westward, they contacted the Hopi about 1700. The Navaho exerted increasing pressure on the Hopi, at the same time unwittingly helping to protect them from further Spanish encroachment. At this time the Navaho were apparently organized into bands, each under the leadership of a headman. Never "reduced" nor in numbers converted to Roman Catholicism by the Spaniards, the tribe remained unconquered by the whiteman until 1864. At that time United States troops under Kit Carson systematically hunted these Indians out and destroyed their crops, fruit trees and livestock. Although a number of Navaho bands hid in remote areas, 8,000 members of the tribe spent the next four years in captivity at Fort Sumner, an experience which engendered in them hostility and bitterness toward the Americans and their government.

Military defeat has by no means "cramped the Navaho style", however, for since their return from Fort Sumner the tribe has apparently prospered more than before. For example, original grants of perhaps 35,000 sheep and goats,[5] made to families after 1868, had increased to 1,200,000 sheep units by 1930 when the available range was found to be about 100 percent overstocked.

Spreading in all directions, but particularly westward into and around the original Hopi reservation and into Paiute Indian territory, the Navaho rapidly overran the original 3,500,000 acre reservation acquired by treaty. And, in the ensuing three-quarters of a century, it is estimated that they have increased about 400 percent, at an average rate of about 2 percent a year.[6] This rate is higher than that of the

[5] Kluckhohn and Leighton, p. 33.

[6] The statement in the Secretary's report (Secretary of the Interior, 1948 b, p. 1) that the Navaho numbered 9,000 in 1868 takes account only of the 8,000 members of the tribe captured in 1864 and their natural increase, but ignores those who escaped captivity and their issue. Based on this questionable estimate, the Report claims that the tribe has increased 600 percent in the last eighty years (*Ibid.*, p. VIII), which would mean an annual increase of 2.5 percent. How-

other tribes studied as part of the present project except the Papago, and higher than that of the United States' population as a whole.

The increase in Navaho population has been accompanied by additional land grants to the tribe and by legalization of their land use areas, the most recent being a grant to the Navaho of the use of 1,840,972 acres from the Hopi reservation, in 1943. Lands grants and purchases amount to a total of 464 percent of the original reservation. As has been noted, today the tribe controls a total area of 16,750,000 acres.

Natural Resources

Although characterized by considerable variety, the land of the Navaho is all part of the Colorado Plateau, an arid and semi-arid highland elevated from 3,500 to 10,000 feet above sea level. Most of the area, however, is between 5,000 and 7,000 feet high. Rainfall is scant in most parts of the Navaho country. It averages 8 inches in nearly half the reservation, 12 inches in the steppe country, and 22 inches in the mountains. The growing season varies with the altitude. Navaho lands are in general badly eroded, 12 percent of the total reservation being completely waste.

At the time of the present research (1945), the Navaho had the use of an average of about 304 acres per capita in sheer acreage, compared to the Hopi's average of about 175 acres per capita, the Zuni's 179 acres per capita, the Sioux' 221 acres per capita, and the Papago's 408 acres per capita. Of the tribes included in the Indian Personality project, therefore, with the single exception of the Papago, the Navaho had the highest per capita acreage.

The Navaho reservation population density is 2.2 per square mile, compared to 3.04 per square mile for the Hopi jurisdiction (located within the Navaho reservation), and 1.00 per square mile for adjacent rural areas.

Navaholand has an aggregate of about 50,000 acres available for farmland. Of these, 32,370 acres are under modern irrigation developments (at a cost of $ 4,042,823).[7] The remainder are arroyo flood[8] lands and dry farmlands.[9] This averaged (1945) about 2.9 irrigated

ever, the evidence points to the inference that in 1868 the tribe numbered about 12,000. Thus instead of increasing 600 percent since 1868 as assumed by the Secretary's Report, it has probably increased about 400 percent, at an average rate of 2 percent a year.

[7] See the statistical tabulation for the fiscal year 1945 (in U. S. House of Representatives, 1948).

[8] Arroyo flood farming land is land, used for farming, which is naturally flooded by arroyos (but without canals for distributing the waters).

[9] Dry farming land is land, used for farming, which depends wholly on rainfall.

acres and 1.6 unirrigated acres of farmland per Navaho family of five, compared to the Hopi's average of about .15 irrigated and .10 unirrigated acres of farmland per family; the Pine Ridge Sioux' average of .57 irrigated and 110 unirrigated acres per family; the Papago's average of 2 irrigated and 3 unirrigated acres per family; and the Zuni's average of 5.7 irrigated and 2.5 unirrigated acres per family.

However, the total irrigated acreage cultivated by the Navaho in 1945 was only about 15,710 acres, leaving 16,660 acres (over half) of the Navaho lands under irrigation construction unused. The cost per acre under constructed works was $ 124, but if allocated to cultivated acres only, the cost was actually more than twice as much, namely $ 257 per acre. It is estimated moreover, that the Navaho produce from their cultivated irrigated land an average of only about one-fifth the crop value that neighboring non-Indian farmers produce on similar land.[10]

Of the land at present used by the Navaho, 16,000,000 acres are classified as grazing land with a carrying capacity of around 600,000 sheep units. This averaged (1945) about 54.5 S. U. per Navaho family of five, compared to the Hopi's family average of about 32.8 S. U.; the Papago's 38 S. U. (7.5 cow units) per family; the Zuni's 52.5 S. U. (10.5 cow units) per family; and the Sioux' 55.5 S. U. (11 cow units) per family. Of the tribes studied, therefore, with the single exception of the Sioux, the Navaho had the largest average number of sheep units per family of five.

However, Navaho sheep average only about six pounds of wool per year (which is, nevertheless, an increase of two pounds (33.3%) per sheep due to government-sponsored, improved breeding practices in recent years), and 57 lambs per 100 ewes, while those of neighboring off-reservation ranchers average eight pounds of wool per sheep and 70 lambs per 100 ewes.[11]

Concerning other natural resources, the Navaho reservation has 100,000 acres in timber which is now milled in the tribal mill. This forest, however, is not reproducing itself. There is also an undetermined amount of coal, oil and other minerals which cannot be fully developed without greatly improved transportation facilities. Some oil has been developed since 1923.

In sum, as with the other tribes studied in the present project, the basic usable natural resources of the Navaho under present conditions are mostly farm and grazing lands. The Navaho tribal family average

[10] Kluckhohn and Leighton, p. 22.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

is about 2.9 irrigated acres and 1.6 unirrigated acres of farmland and 54.5 sheep units. These basic available Navaho resources surpass by a wide margin those of the Hopi, whose family average is only about .15 irrigated acres, 10 acres of unirrigated farmland, and 32.8 S. U., and also surpass those of the Papago with a family average of 2 irrigated acres, 3 unirrigated farmland, and 38 S. U. They probably also surpass those of the Sioux with their family average of about .57 irrigated acres, 110 unirrigated farmland acres and 55.5 S. U. On the other hand, Navaho basic available resources are inferior to those of the Zuni with their family average of around 5.7 irrigated acres, 2.5 acres of unirrigated farmland and 52.5 S. U. Thus, so far as land resources are concerned, of the tribes studied, the Navaho fall in the upper range, surpassing those of the Hopi, the Papago and probably also the Sioux, and being surpassed by those of the Zuni.

Tribal income and use of resources

The Navaho average income per family of five for the fiscal year 1939 (a normal year) was $ 520, while that of the Papago, with inferior natural resources, was $ 700. In the same year the Hopi's family average was $ 418 and the Sioux average was $ 851 (about 40 percent of which was unearned). By 1944 (a war year) the Navaho average income per family of five had risen to $ 859, compared to $ 875 for the Papago, $ 456 for the Hopi and $ 796 for the Sioux.[12] The figures indicate that the Navaho and the Sioux, the two tribes studied with a recent basic hunting traditional economy show the least efficient utilization of tribal land resources, inefficiency in both cases centering mainly in a waste of the present farming potential. This, in the Navaho case, amounts to over 50 percent inefficient or non-use of agricultural land. In 1940 (a normal year) it was estimated that 14 percent of the total Navaho income derived from farming, 44 percent being from livestock, 30 percent from wages (chiefly government work), 11 percent from arts and crafts, and one percent from miscellaneous sources.

Federal appropriations

In 1947 the federal allocation for the Navaho reservation, with an estimated population of 55,458, was $ 4,770,554 in toto ($ 3,370,954

[12] These figures are based on government reports (U. S. Department of the Interior, 1945). For comparative purposes population totals for each tribe are divided by five to obtain the average number of families of five. Family totals are then divided into tribal income totals. By 1948 the Navaho average family income was less than $ 400 (Secretary of the Interior, 1948 b, p. 6).

minus capital expenditure), and $ 61 per capita, compared to $ 46 per capita for the Papago, $ 76 for the Pine Ridge Sioux, and $ 104 for the Hopi.[13]

Vital statistics and general health

It is estimated that the Navaho population is increasing at a rate of some 2 percent a year, compared to 2 percent for the Papago, 1.8 percent for the Hopi, .016 percent for the Pine Ridge Sioux, 1.06 percent for all U. S. Indians, and .9 percent for the United States as a whole. The Navaho birth rate is estimated at 36 per 1,000, compared to 42.3 for the Papago, 40 for the Hopi, 25 for the Pine Ridge Sioux, 25.3 for the whole U. S. Indian population, 25.9 for the State of Arizona, and 19.5 for the United States. The Navaho death rate is estimated at 16 per 1,000 compared to 32.3 for the Papago, 25 for the Hopi, 15.8 for the Sioux, 13.3 for the U. S. Indian population, 12 for the State of Arizona, and 10.5 for the United States. Navaho infant mortality is very roughly estimated at 318 per 1,000 live births, compared to 258 for the Papago, 180 for the Hopi, 120 for the Sioux, 110 for the whole U. S. Indian population, 75.3 for the State of Arizona, and 41 for the United States. Navaho maternal mortality is very roughly estimated at 10 per 1,000 compared to 11.7 for the Hopi, and 2.7 for the United States. About 57 percent of the total Navaho deaths occur in the first five years. Tuberculosis mortality is estimated at 386 per 100,000 compared to 300 for the Papago, 250 for the Sioux, 203 for the whole U. S. Indian population, 164 for the State of Arizona, and 43 for the United States as a whole. The most important factors contributory to death among the Navaho are reported to be diarrhea and dysentery, pneumonia, prematurity and neonatal cases, tuberculosis, meningitis, heart disease, and accidents.

The normal annual appropriation for Navaho health services is $ 627.073, which averages $ 11.40 per capita, compared to $ 5.24 for the Hopi, $ 6.14 for the Papago, $ 11.57 for the Sioux, and $ 15.81 for the Zuni. Of the total Navaho health appropriation, almost 100 percent was spent for hospital work at the time of the present project. In 1943 there were 20 physicians (one to every 2,750 individuals), compared to one physician to every 3,500 Papago, one to every 3,467 Hopi, and one to every 2,000 Sioux. There were nine hospitals and sanitoria with a total capacity of 547 beds (of which 182 were for tuberculosis patients), averaging almost one bed for every 100 Navaho. It was reported that not more than half of these hospital beds were generally in use.

[13] U. S. House of Representatives, 1948.

Child health

The limited clinical medical examinations given the present research sample of 151 Navaho individuals suggest that, with the single exception of the Zuni, the Navaho children examined apparently have the best general health rating of the tribes studied. Medical examinations revealed that of the group examined, 31 percent were in good health, showing practically no physical defects; 27 percent were undernourished, 44 percent had decayed teeth, 37 percent had enlarged tonsils (7 percent having removed tonsils), 40 percent had colds, 4 percent had conjunctivitis, and .7 percent had active tuberculosis. There seems to be little difference in health conditions between the sexes, but the health of older children is better than that of the younger and shows fewer physical defects.

United States Public Health records on the health of public school children in the general American population suggest that the Navaho children compare favorably in general health with white children.[14] Moreover, among the Navaho as among the Sioux, the present findings suggest that, contrary to the usual assumption, the children from the more acculturated communities of these tribes, with easier access to medical services and hospital care, are in poorer general health than those of the less acculturated and less accessible communities. Also, in both tribes, the children from the more acculturated communities, although (judging from the higher incidence of decayed teeth among the Navaho and from clinical evidence of vitamin deficiency among the children from other tribes) they suffer less from undernutrition (that is, they have more food in terms of caloric intake), they apparently suffer more from malnutrition (that is, the food they eat is deficient in protective qualities or vitamin content). Among the Hopi and the Papago, on the other hand, where there is a significant discrepancy in adequacy of resources between the communities studied, the children from communities having less adequate resources (namely Oraibi and Hickiwan) show not only more undernutrition but also more malnutrition than those from the communities having relatively more adequate natural resources (namely, First Mesa and Topawa).

Socio-economic organization

The smallest Navaho socio-economic group is the matrilocal family consisting of husband, wife (or wives, about 7 percent of the families being polygamous), and unmarried children. The family occupies a single hogan. Although the husband is the family's formal

[14] Leighton and Kluckhohn, pp. 159-60.

head, husband and wife share family responsibilities, the wife's position in this matrilineal society, wherein a large share of the property and its control is in the women's hands, being perhaps somewhat more advantageous than that of her husband.[15]

Farming and herding are usually cooperative tasks shared by a larger kinship unit; namely, the extended family consisting of the biological families of a woman and her married daughters as well as unattached collateral relatives. The hogans occupied by such a group are usually within "shouting" distance. In the extended family the position of the maternal uncle is important, for he exercises many functions which usually fall to the father in general American society. Somewhat like the Sioux, Navaho relations between brothers and sisters, and between mothers-in-law and sons-in-law, are characterized by great restraint, if not actual avoidance. Cross-cousins have a joking relationship with one another, and two brothers or two sisters present a solid front to the world.

Navaho families are also grouped into large matrilineal clans, of which there are sixty or more cutting across the local divisions. Navaho clans regulate marriage, for a Navaho may not marry within his own clan (i. e., his mother's clan) or that of his father. Hence clans are important in establishing the individual's large circle of relations and kinship obligations.

Far more important to the government administrator than the clan grouping, however, is that of the "outfit" or local land-use community. Several extended families may habitually participate in community enterprise under one leadership.

> Each *land use community* can be identified with a specific area of country which includes range, farm land and habitations. The occupants lay claim to the country as their own on the basis of ancestral settlement and present use. It is because of the territorial land use characteristics that this social grouping has been called the *land use community*. Cooperative community labor and leadership exhibits itself most often in general problems relating to range use, water, subjugation and development of farm land, the construction of dams, tanks, irrigation systems, and the presentation of a united front toward those who attempt to encroach upon the community rights.[16]

Such groups are called "outfits", the head of a prominent nuclear family being the leader. There are great variations in size, composition, and area of Navaho "outfits" and the facts concerning them have

[15] See Kluckhohn and Leighton, pp. 56, 59.

[16] Kimball and Provinse, pp. 22-23.

been systematically assembled for only a few parts of the Navaho reservation. The hogans of an "outfit" may extend over a large land-use area, in some cases from 12,000 to 80,000 acres. On the other hand, constituent families of an "outfit" do not necessarily occupy contiguous lands.

The real leaders of the tribe are the heads of the "outfits" and other headmen who usually operate to a considerable extent under cover. Moreover, "there is considerable indication that the power behind the scene in an extended family or 'outfit' is wielded by the women in many instances.[17] Headmen have no powers of coercion, except that they may be feared as witches, but they have responsibilities, especially for the welfare of needy persons who are neglected by their relatives. Their power lies in their ability to feel out and influence the wishes of the people, since decisions regarding community interests are reached customarily by consensus at local meetings.[18] Leadership qualities are believed to originate as much from ritual acts and precautions as from personal ability or effort.[19]

Organized before the conquest into large independent local bands under the leadership of a war or peace leader,[20] the Navaho have no indigenous tribal organization nor any traditional formal mechanisms for promoting the political, economic or social solidarity in the group as a whole. Nevertheless, they have "a common language; a common designation for themselves as The People as distinct from all others; a cultural heritage which is, *in general*, the same; a territory with a certain topographical unity, where the occupants are mostly Navahos and where many mountains and other natural features are enshrined in a common mythology; . . . [and they] constitute a single governmental administrative unit with a single elected council for the whole tribe." [21]

Prior to 1934, the Indian Office serviced the Navaho through six separate Agencies. Thereafter, federal services to Navaho were unified in a single reservation Agency, under a general Superintendent, with headquarters at Window Rock, Arizona. At the same time, the Navaho reservation and adjacent areas inhabited by Navaho were divided into eighteen "land-use" districts, ranging in size from 350,000 to 1,750,000 acres, and in population from 1,100 to 6,400 persons. A District Supervisor was put in charge of carrying out federal programs

[17] Leighton and Kluckhohn, p. 83.
[18] Kluckhohn and Leighton, pp. 69-71.
[19] See Leighton and Kluckhohn, p. 41.
[20] Kluckhohn and Leighton, p. 68; Kimball and Provinse, p. 20.
[21] Kluckhohn and Leighton, pp. 73-74.

in each district, with the exception of education, health and construction. The districts also served as voting units. It should be noted that these administrative districts do not correspond to Navaho "outfits" or any other indigenous grouping.

Although the Navaho had had a Navaho Council since 1923 when oil was discovered near Shiprock, they rejected by a narrow margin of votes, in an election pursuant to the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the offer of statutorily protected self government under the provisions of that Act. Apparently this was due mainly to a lack of comprehension of the issues and to traditional hostility toward the government. Although the tribe's rejection of the legal benefits of reorganization has hampered the Indian Service in its attempt to develop self government and tribal authority among the Navaho, the Agency has succeeded in helping the tribe to reorganize the Council into a more representative body, elected by secret ballot, by districts, and to extend its control over tribal affairs. The powers of the Navaho Council derive from the inherent powers of Indian tribes, the Navaho treaty with the United States in 1868, and the policies of Indian administration since 1933.[22] The Council passes upon expenditure of tribal funds; it passes on mineral leases, traders' licenses, and grants of land for mission use, subject to approval by the administration. The conditions of tribal membership are defined by the Council, and it also regulates the domestic relations of the Navaho including marriage, divorce and inheritance. The Council recommends appointees as judges of the Tribal Court. Subject to approval by the administration, it enacts sumptuary ordinances and others dealing with livestock, range, and resources. Compared to those of the organized tribes, however, the functions of the Navaho Council are limited, due to the tribal rejection of the Wheeler-Howard Act benefits.

Courts and Code

Off the reservation, Navaho as well as other Indians are subject to state courts and codes. With the exception of major crimes which are tried in Federal District Courts, all offenses committed by Navaho on the reservation are tried in the Tribal Court, presided over by Navaho judges, on the basis of the Navaho tribal code, adopted in 1937, which takes Navaho custom into account.

> The Federal District Court has jurisdiction in cases involving ten major crimes, —murder, manslaughter, assault with intent to kill, assault with a dangerous weapon, rape, incest,

[22] Et seq., see *Ibid.*, p. 102.

arson, burglary, larceny, and robbery... All other offenses committed by Navahos on the reservation are tried in the Tribal Court on the basis of a tribal code of law... There have been a number of Navaho convictions for murder, manslaughter, rape, and burglary, but of 997 convictions on the reservation in 1942, 391 were for disorderly conduct, 148 for liquor violation, and 110 for adultery...

The judges of the Tribal Court are all Navahos and are recommended by the Navaho Council. Thus the field of law and order is the one in which The People have a large share.[23]

Schools

The first schools for Navaho were established about 1870. In 1944 there were 55 government schools on the Navaho reservation with a capacity for over 5,000 pupils and a normal staff of about 554, 70 percent of whom were Indian employees (mostly non-Navaho). With the additional facilities of mission schools, there was opportunity for a total of less than 7,000 Navaho children to attend school, but the existing capacity was never filled. Out of some 19,000 Navaho children of school age (6-18 years), about 6,500 were matriculated but attendance was low, and the turnover was exceptionally high.[24]

The 1943 federal appropriation for Navaho schools was ..... $ 1,118,142.62, which was approximately $ 183 per enrolled school child (including mission schools) compared to $ 241 for the Papago and $ 180 for the Hopi.

War service and veterans[25]

Approximately 3,600 Navaho (over 6 percent of the total population) served in the armed forces of World War II. This relatively low percentage, compared to many Indian tribes (e. g., 10 percent of the total Zuni population saw war service) is due to the large number of rejections for illiteracy and bad health. Illiteracy rejects were highest for the less acculturated areas. In Ramah, for example, only 2 percent of the population served in the armed forces.

Eight hundred Navaho enlisted soon after declaration of war by the United States, an indication of the active interest which the Navaho took in the war, as might be expected from the tribal history and tradition. Many Navaho G. I.s were distinguished for their records in the signal corps and in guerrilla warfare. Navaho rituals formerly

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 104-05.

[24] By 1948, according to the Secretary of the Interior (1948 b), school facilities were available for 7,500 Navaho children.

[25] See Adair and Vogt, pp. 551-54; 556-60.

associated with warfare were performed for individuals to protect them while away and to integrate them into the community on their return.

Most veterans have now returned and settled in their family groups throughout the reservation. They do not form a group but are being absorbed into the community and the innovations which they have brought back, far from changing Navaho culture into white, are being adapted to the Navaho life way, according to observers.[26]

Missions and ceremonies

In the last decade, the Native American church (Peyote Cult) has spread rapidly among the Navaho, unchecked by the existence of a tribal ordinance making the possession or use of peyote (the sacramental substance of this religion) a prison offense. In general, spread of the Native American church signifies increased resistance to white influences and white government.

Christian mission activities among the Navaho are carried on by the Roman Catholic, Christian Reformed, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Methodist, Baptist and Mormon churches, as well as by a number of non-denominational groups. The mission workers number at least 300, rendering some social services as well as religious services. Despite this activity, the number of Navaho practising converts to Christianity is small, most Navaho preferring their own religion and ceremonies.

Far from dying out, Navaho ceremonials are actually being performed more frequently today than for many years,[27] and most Navaho men and women give more time to them than most Anglo-Americans do to church, theater, and physician combined. For example, according to professor Kluckhohn, "Study in the Ramah area indicates that adult men give one-fourth to one-third of their productive time to activities connected with the 'priestly' rites; women, one-fifth to one-sixth." [28]

Attitudes and beliefs[29]

More striking still is the persistence of traditional attitudes and beliefs among the Navaho. The Navaho believe the world to be both dangerous and unpredictable. It contains two classes of personal forces: the Earth Surface People including the living, the witches, and

[26] A study of the cultural innovations of Navaho veterans is reported to be in preparation. (*Ibid.*, p. 554).

[27] Kluckhohn and Leighton, p. 159.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

[29] See Thompson, 1948, pp. 203-06.

the ghosts, and the Holy People including superhuman beings who have power to aid or harm the Earth Surface People. Power, according to the Navaho, is focused and localized in countless disparate personal entities who are characteristically unreliable and dangerous. The powerful and mysterious Holy People may attack and bring sickness on humans or they may aid them. But also the Earth People, in the form of witches and ghosts, may exercise power and bring sickness. By following a great many detailed rules and using the appropriate ritual formulas literally, however, the Navaho believe that man can compel, coerce and propitiate the superhuman entities to aid him in restoring harmony within the individual and between the individual and other persons or superhuman forces.[30]

By the Navaho, man is not regarded as the helpless supplicant to superhuman helpers and guardians. Rather he is the infinitely painstaking personal ritualist who, by doing what he should and not doing what he should not, strives for order within himself and in his relations with others, both human and superhuman. If he fails to observe the tabus, however, misfortune will inevitably follow, probably in the form of sickness.

Under strong pressures from without, the traditional indigenous orientation toward power persists among the Navaho but there is a tendency toward increased emphasis on human power entities. This is manifest in Navaho behavior by a heightened apprehension regarding witches and an increased use of rituals for the control of witches. It is also manifest in a transfer of attitudes which were formerly oriented toward traditional power entities, to the government. But the traditional coercive and anxious attitude toward power entities among the Navaho tends to become a coercive and uneasy attitude toward the government and toward other people (outside the family group). And among the Navaho the focus on illness in the power equation persists. Characteristically, on returning from Fort Sumner after their military defeat and imprisonment, to find flocks, fruit trees, and dwellings destroyed and hunting grounds curtailed, the Navaho did not develop a dependency attitude toward the government. It should also be noted that they did not, with defeat, lose their basic subsistence pattern and their ceremonies which are their lifeline to their power source. Almost immediately the Navaho started to adjust themselves to new conditions,

[30] According to Kluckhohn, "Getting a deer is never a matter of good fortune; it is a matter of ritual knowledge and of one's relations with supernaturals which, again, are controllable.... While a man can never hope completely to understand and control his destiny, he can, once he learns the right formulas, coerce even supernatural beings..." (Kluckhohn, 1949, p. 362).

quickly spread out and overran their reservation and even managed to acquire from the government considerable tracts of additional land. The type of adaptability shown in this vigorous adjustment to the concrete, obvious commonplaces of everyday living is characteristic of the tribe.

Personality

The Navaho has made his personality adjustment in the framework of a belief that the world is highly unpredictable and dangerous both from the viewpoint of supernatural factors and that of natural and human factors (except the family). Unpredictable danger cannot be met merely by patient, foresighted labor and long-range planning. Rather the Navaho has attempted in the past to depend as much on quick acts of aggression (such as raids and stealing) followed by flight and escape, as on hard work. In contrast to the Hopi who stress foresight and preparatory activities, for example, the Navaho tends to take advantage of the moment, enjoying the excitement of sudden and intense activity for immediate gains, and he is not accustomed to prolonged, systematic work toward abstract, long-range goals. Indeed, he does not have the organizational, abstract mental approach such as characterizes the planning, foresighted mentality (seen in Hopi children, for example, already at the age of six), nor is he interested in complex relationships, but rather he thinks in terms of simple, concrete actions[31] toward immediate, obvious goals. To the Navaho, however, the concrete, the obvious and the practical include ritual acts of a compulsive magical nature which he believes will coerce the power forces into bringing about the desired results.

Navaho morality is centered in the relations of the self to the family and to the supernatural forces, and his sense of responsibility rarely extends beyond the small group of relatives whose opinions and goodwill operate as the most important sanctions for his behavior.[32] But he also fears occurrences of supernatural significance, especially immanent punishment in the form of sickness for violation of tabus.

This orientation toward life is fraught with uneasiness, especially fear of sickness, of animals (believed to be the embodiment of supernatural forces), of ghosts, evil spirits and witches, and also of any

[31] "Doing —neither being nor becoming— is the keynote of Navaho thought". (*Ibid.*, p. 367.)

[32] According to Kluckhohn, "[A Navaho's] first loyalty is neither to [himself] nor to society in the abstract but rather, in attenuating degrees as one moves outward in the circle of kin, to [his] biological and clan relatives." (*Ibid.*, p. 367).

person or group outside the immediate circle of face-to-face relatives. Pressures from the outside world increase these fears, especially of witches and ghosts. The Navaho's main methods of allaying his uneasiness and fears are activities related to:

1. participation in ceremonies, and
2. fulfillment of family obligations.

Under pressures from without he attempts to resolve his mounting anxiety by increasing his time and attention on ceremonial activities.

Conversely, the Navaho's main sources of security are his family and his ceremonies and practically nothing else except property. He is more interested in acquiring and possessing goods than in producing them.

The control system built up on the basis of these beliefs and sanctions is heavily weighted on the external side, rather than on the internalized side. Shame and fear-of-being-caught are the basic motivators of Navaho behavior, rather than guilt and conscience. At the same time, fear of supernatural punishment in the form of sickness operates as a secondary force. Under acculturation influences, however, there seems to be a slight increase in shame feelings as behavior motivators.

As might be expected on the basis of this control system, the Navaho are in general more successful in regulation their reactions in relation to contacts with the outer world than in relation to their own inner urges. While the individual learns to regulate his behavior sufficiently to fulfill his family and social and ceremonial obligations, he tends to develop relatively less control of his instinctual urges and moods.

The only outstanding personality difference between the sexes revealed by the tests is that, in general, Navaho girls show more responsiveness to the outer world than boys and this responsiveness develops at an earlier age than it does among the boys, a characteristic which fits in with the Navaho notion that women are more "stable" than men.

Acculturation pressures seem to engender a decrease in spontaneity and an increase in anxiety, restraint, and sensitivity or emotional subtlety —in other words, to increase personality complexity and the appearance of maturity.

> Both the Rorschach and Thematic Apperception tests indicate that psychologically Shiprock children [the most acculturated Navaho community studied] are considerably more complex than are those at Navaho Mountain, and that Ramah is much more like Navaho Mountain in this respect. Shiprock

> children seem to have greater sensitivity, a greater range of emotional possibilities, and more different nuances of feeling in response to life experiences. On the other hand, they are under more pressure and more different sorts of pressure at Shiprock, and what they gain in complexity they seem to lose in spontaneity. The complexity, which might be called "sophistication", gives them an appearance of greater "maturity" but at the same time it makes them more self-critical and restrained.[33]

The Shiprock children tested, all of whom were in school, scored an average I. Q. of 110 on the Goodenough test and 94 on the Arthur test, the Ramah children, 12 percent of whom were in school, scored an average of 84 on the Arthur, and the Navaho Mountain children, 41 percent of whom were in school, scored an average of 94 on the Arthur. The Goodenough test was not given to the Ramah and Navaho Mountain children. Clearly, the unschooled children were at a considerable disadvantage in the Arthur test, but it should be noted that the Shiprock group, all of whom were in school, also scored somewhat lower than average on the Arthur test.

These findings should be viewed as part of the total Navaho personality pattern which, according to the present project results, is definitely oriented to the outer world, perceived in obvious, literal terms.[34] Perceived objects are distinctive, well-delineated entities, related to one another, if at all, in a loose, informal manner structurally reminiscent of Navaho social organization. Although the Navaho tend to single out for attention obvious heterogeneous elements, the findings indicate that they are able to relate elements into organized wholes on occasion.

Thus Navaho personality adjustment is of a predominately emotional type wherein a personal esthetic harmony is sought between the self and the outer world, an adjustment wherein both sensory and cognitive faculties are used but with little or no attempt at their integration. The individual habitually functions according to a simple, personal code which gives him security for a minimum price in terms of personal responsibility and discipline, so to speak, and which allows him free range outside the limits of well-defined family and ceremonial obligations.

Obviously such a code and such an adjustment were well suited to the outward-pushing, marauding life-way which characterized the Navaho, in contrast to the Pueblos and the Papago, for at least two centuries preceding their military defeat in 1864, and probably much

[33] Leighton and Kluckhohn, pp. 181-82.

[34] Et seq. from Thompson, 1949 c.

longer. It was also suited to the vigorous, aggressive herding and farming orientation by which, when their raiding pattern was outlawed, they successfully usurped three-quarters of the Hopi's range and expanded during the next seventy-five years over 400 percent in both population and land-base. Its persistence in slightly changed form in the acculturation situation helps to explain the resistance of the Navaho as a group toward coming to grips with the realities of their present complex situation wherein closed spaces, an eroding land-base, and a rapidly growing population point to the need for unified long-range planning toward more intensive organization, permanent communities, resources conservation, and a more stable, diversified economy.

Life. cycle

There are a number of tabus for both parents during a woman's pregnancy, but the Navaho believe that to make preparations for the birth ahead of time would be unlucky. Childbirth is regarded as a natural function and children are very much wanted. Although an increasing number of women go to the hospital for delivery, they still form a very small proportion of the total. Most births take place in the hogan on warm sand covered with warm cloths, with the mother, mother's mother, sister or other relative assisting. In case of prolonged labor, a singer or a midwife is called in. The afterbirth and stained cloths are burned or buried or hidden in a tree to keep them out of the hands of witches. And the mother rests on warmed sand or boughs. She remains inactive from one to five days. The baby is washed, wrapped up. his head is anointed with pollen, his body is "shaped", and he is usually fed corn pollen and water until his mother's milk comes freely. When the cord dries it is buried, and within about a month the infant is named.

A few hours after the birth the infant is cradled. Later, with a short ceremony, he is placed in a permanent cradle decorated with magical prophylactics. When the cradle is finally abandoned at about the age of one year, another ceremony is sometimes held. The cradle is apparently a source of great emotional security to the child. It eases the shock of birth, helps digestion (since it is usually placed in an upright position after nursing), and aids the socialization process, in that, propped up in his cradle, the infant is part of the family circle and can observe what is going on around him.

The baby receives a great deal of affection and something is done for him whenever he cries. He has free access to the breast, and usually nursing continues until the child is at least eighteen months old and

usually past two years. Supplementary feeding from meals prepared for the adults begins at about the age of six months. Weaning is gradual as a rule, although in occasional difficult cases, chili pepper juice is smeared on the breast. Demands for bladder and bowel control usually coincide with weaning or come shortly thereafter. Judging by the frequency and intensity of temper tantrums, weaning is a more disturbing experience to boys than to girls. An older sister or brother (the child nurse), rather than the mother, however, bears the brunt of the hostility generated at the weaning period.

Very early the child begins to take on Navaho attitudes and values, and to acquire the Navaho "emotional and social climate."

> Probably by the time the Navaho child is six months old typically Navaho conceptions of life have begun to permeate and to attain a sway which will last forever.[35]

From watching and listening to his elders he gets a picture of the supernatural world as potentially menacing.

> His parents and grandparents (who must previously have seemed almost omnipotent, so successfully could they gratify every need save sometimes the removal of bodily pain) are now seen to confess their impotence to handle various matters in rational ways and to resort to prayers, songs, and ceremonials. When he has learned to understand speech, he hears whispers about witchcraft and discovers that there are certain fellow tribesmen whom his family suspect and fear... When the toddler goes with mother and with older sister to defecate or urinate. he must notice a certain uneasiness which they manifest by their careful concealment of the waste matter. The mother is now revealed not as omnipotent but as herself very uneasy and afraid, though helpful in that she is teaching the child one way of protecting himself... In white society children learn bodily cleanliness primarily to please the parents and thus gain approval and other rewards from them. Perhaps the Navaho child feels that this hygiene is a form of *self*-protection.[36]

Neither the mother nor the father are stern disciplinarians, that role, when not shunted to the supernatural, being assumed by the mother's brothers and the grandparents. While the child's feeling toward the mother's brothers is often ambivalent, the feeling toward the mother is usually one of deep affection, unmixed with hostility. The father, while he does not act as teacher, is much more the affectionate and playful companion than the stern parent. The child. moreover, growing up in the extended family rather than the small

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35 Leighton and Kluckhohn, p. 39.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

biological family, forms affectionate ties to many relatives, but there is less likelihood that any one will have overweening significance. Although the *yeibichai*, owls (associated with ghosts and witches), ghosts and witches are used as child frighteners, teasing, ridicule and "what people will say", along with the supernatural, are the effective sanctions of daily life. Verbal instruction in "morals" comes from the father or grandparent, often in anecdotal form, while father, mother, mother's brother, grandparents, and aunts teach specific skills. Left handedness, bed wetting and walking or talking during sleep are considered "behavior problems" and are dealt with by magical means.

It should be noted also that, among the Navaho, children are not considered to live in a special world of childhood.

> ...children and adults do not belong to two separate worlds. The same set of standards prevails in most things for all ages, from the child (as soon as he can talk) to the very old people. Generalizations were really general and easy to apply in the old Navaho world, and the child was taught a way of thinking suitable to such a world.[37]

By the time the child has reached the age of six he has a matter-of-fact orientation. He is not yet fully adjusted, however, to the demands and restrictions upon him which followed the indulgence of the nursing period.

From the age of six through the early teens the child learns skills and responsible behavior. Children begin to help with the herding at six or seven.

> Besides the chores of chopping and bringing in firewood, emptying ashes, hauling water, husking corn, etc., instruction in the more specialized tasks begins.[38]

At about the age of eight the sexes begin to be separated much of the time, each sex learning the skills required in adult life.

Training (primarly of boys) in hardihood, still practised in the more remote communities, began about the age of eight and did not end until a year or so after puberty.

> Youngsters (primarily boys) were wakened before daylight and told to get out and run. In winter they were also expected to roll naked in the snow, to shake snow-laden branches over their naked shoulders, to run with pieces of ice in their mouths, to break the crust of the ice upon a pool or stream and plunge in... Morning racing and rolling in the snow in winter was sometimes followed (usually after the age of eleven or twelve)

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 74.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

> by long runs in the noonday summer sun... made in a sunwise direction.[39]

Some Navaho children also go to school, usually at least one child in each family. Among Navaho the school experience, especially in boarding school far removed in distance, values and interests from the life of the hogans in which they have grown up, is often a difficult and not a very rewarding one.

> Navaho personality as formed in the pre-school years, and the conditions of life as it still goes on in adult years in the hogans, are not as yet geared to the demands of white men and the psychological atmosphere in schools taught and directed by white men. Until The People have gradually worked out adjustive techniques for reconciling their child training and their life ways with the inexorable realities created by white pressures, one must expect many disoriented and unhappy persons. In the social sphere one must expect disorganization and the increase in recourse to witchcraft and "good" supernatural practices.[40]

So far the boarding schools have failed to develop real leadership among the Navaho.

> They [Navaho educated in boarding schools] are often articulate at least in English. They can write letters to the newspapers and in other ways attract the attention of that part of the white population that has an interest in Navahos. With increasing frequency they are elected as "Chapter officers" and even as delegates to the tribal council. But this is because the actual leaders have discovered the usefulness of intermediaries who can handle English.[41]

Real leadership develops from the leader's understanding of tribal values, attitudes and social relationships, which requires an intimate participation in the culture impossible for the boarding school student who has spent from six to ten formative years away from the Navaho world.

The Navaho, proud of a girl's becoming a woman, celebrate the first menstruation with a four-night ceremony attended by her relatives. Thereafter she is considered ready for marriage, which is usually arranged for her by her family with her consent. The old custom of marrying a boy of seventeen or eighteen years to a girl in her early teens is followed with many Navaho children who do not attend school (thus starting the period of actual child bearing over thirty years

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 75.
[41] *Ibid.*

before the climacterate), while students usually delay marriage for several years. The initiative in arranging a marriage is taken by the boy's family on the basis of clan affiliations, of previous alliances of the family, and of economic considerations. While the girl's family, near whom the couple will take up residence, usually provides the pair with livestock, utensils and equipment, the boy's family makes up the "bride's gift" of sheep, horses and, among the well-to-do, money. The gift varies with the desirability of the bride; older men marrying young women bring more, young men marrying older women bring less or nothing at all. Marriage is celebrated by an allnight ceremony. Divorces are more frequent but much less disrupting emotionally, economically and socially, than in general American society.

Formerly there were certain restraints on sexual intercourse, including continence during war and hunting activities and in connection with other ceremonies, but these are breaking down to some extent. There is great fear of menstrual blood among the Navaho.

These Indians believe that the best time of life is between 25 and 60 years. Thereafter comes old age, loss of authority, illness and death. Everything connected with the dead is regarded with horror, especially ghosts, who are believed to be particularly malevolent toward their own relatives. The body, together with the most valuable possessions of the deceased, is placed in a rock niche and sealed or buried, while the hogan wherein death occurred is often burned.

Discussion and conclusions

The present research reveals, in sum, that the Navaho are a substantial-sized group of predominantly non-literate, non-industrial, desert and semi-desert dwelling people who occupy a large federally protected land-base in the heart of a great industrial nation.

The Navaho, moreover, are not the "remnant" of an aboriginal group formerly more widespread and populous, nor are they the "aborigines" of the region they now occupy. On the contrary, they are relatively latecomers to the Southwest and specially to northern Arizona.[42] They are newcomers who have seized a favorable historical moment (when Pueblo life was becoming ever more disturbed by Spanish and later by American encroachment) to move in and displace the "old timers" (with the help of the newly acquired horse), first by predatory raiding and hunting supplemented by patches of farm-

[42] It should be noted that the program for Navaho rehabilitation is in error in stating that the tribe has occupied their present homeland "since earliest times". (Secretary of the Interior, 1948 b, p. 1).

ing and later by an aggressive, mobile herding and farming economy on land traditionally claimed by Pueblos and other Indian tribes.

This spectacular displacement was possible mainly because of:

1. the Navaho's relatively simple culture and relatively low standard of living compared to that of the Pueblos;

2. the Navaho's propensity toward predatory mobility and relatively recent attachment to the land compared, for example, to the Pueblos;

3. their simple, informal, dispersed, family-oriented social structure, in which kinship groups outweigh local groups in importance;

4. their particular kind of adaptability which allows them to take from their neighbors, and reorient for their own purposes, patterns of behavior necessary for survival, and favorable to multiplication in the high arid Colorado River Plateau, and to take on such behavior patterns encumbered with a minimum of the givers' emotional and thought patterns, and to adapt the new patterns functionally to their own needs while retaining the informally organized, simple structure of their society and their personality type; [43]

5. the fact that, while the Pueblos' land-base has been progressively curtailed and their populations have until recently been reduced by Spanish and American pressures, the Navaho have gained greatly in population and land-base during the last century. First, the advent of the Spaniards, who never succeeded in conquering the Navaho, gave the tribe their opportunity to spread out and also provided the time necessary to facilitate the development of a functional adjustment to their newly acquired land-base without essentially changing their fundamental attitudes and character structure. Second, the Americans, after finally conquering the Navaho, in time gave the tribe a large, protected land-base over four and a half times their original treaty grant. Consequently the Navaho have prospered in the last three-quarters of a century and the tribe has multiplied almost four-fold. The facts suggest that today the Navaho are far more numerous than they have ever been before.

Apparently this rapid expansion was the result of natural laws of population growth operating within the context of the particular Navaho situation —i. e., interrelation between the natural environment (including the size of the land-base, topography, climate, range capacity, etc.) and its human component (including Navaho biological, psychological, sociological, technological and cultural factors, as well as influences from outside, especially the government, industrial interests and mission interests). Within this particular nature-man context, apparently

[43] See Kluckhohn and Leighton, p. 28.

the natural population peak has not been reached, but the Navaho population, still increasing rapidly, has become too large to live at the habitual Navaho subsistence level, according to the traditional pattern of living, on the available land-base. The situation has been complicated and made more acute by many factors, both natural and cultural. These are mainly:

1. the Navaho land-base has become progressively eroded due to over-grazing in interaction with a natural erosion cycle, and

2. the government, missionaries, traders, "educated" Navaho, some returned veterans and industrial workers, have increasingly exerted pressures to raise the tribal standard of living.

Under these circumstances, a substantial increase in the Navaho land-base at present, when most Navaho are living according to an indigenous life way which allows them very little, if any, margin over bare subsistence, would probably mean a repetition in general of what such increase meant in the past. That is, it might be expected that the tribe would rapidly fill the new area with still more Navaho living according to the Navaho way and Navaho standards.

Apparently, therefore, a substantial increase in land-base (even if such a measure were possible) would not resolve the fundamental Navaho "problem" from the long-range viewpoint, while the tribe lives at its present bare subsistence level according to indigenous patterns. However, relocation of Navaho families on new, productive land will doubtless somewhat alleviate it, at least temporarily. Here it should be noted that newly irrigated lands, and credits for settlement, have been opened by the government to Navaho on the Colorado River reservation and a number of Navaho families have moved there with the help of the Indian Service.

If an additional land grant will not do more than temporarily postpone effective consideration of the total long-range Navaho administration and welfare problem, waht other measures may be expected to move in a positive direction?

Here, as elsewhere in the modern world of rapidly expanding populations in relation to available natural resources, positive steps toward achieving a genuine resolution of the community welfare problem lie in the direction of an integrated long-range program which successfully stimulates, guides, and teaches the members of the local community, themselves, to face realistically and take responsibility for their own problems, including their rapidly expanding population on a limited land-base.

The need for a comprehensive "grassroots" plan for the Navaho tribe is recognized in a recent Interior Department report:

> The Navaho problem must be attacked on an over-all basis. There must be a comprehensive plan. The critical conditions now threatening every phase of Navaho life are all interrelated and cannot be successfully dealt with on a piecemeal basis. . . the plan must be of grass-roots variety, closely coordinated with the everyday life of the people. It must be participated in by the individual, the family, the clan, community groups and the Tribal Council.
>
> It must instill into the leadership of the Navaho, as well as into the rank and file, a distinct proprietary interest in all that is done.[44]

The question is: how comprehensive should the plan be? What factors of Navaho life are relevant to it? As stated in Chapter 2, the answer which emerged from the present research is that such a long-range plan, if it is to prove an effective guide toward over-all improved community welfare, must focus not merely on improving economic standards, physical health and schooling, but primarily on *meeting and fulfilling the bio-social personality needs and trends of the members of the community in total environmental context.*

From what has gone before, in the case of the Navaho the major factors relevant to the problem of orienting local government toward improved community welfare may be briefly summarized follows:

First, Navaho "psychology" is basically relevant to the problem of orienting local government toward community welfare. Referring to the previous discussion of Navaho basic attitudes and personality, here we merely stress the following:

1. the Navaho's tendency toward a magic-dominated, compartmentalized approach toward problems; his lack of concern for abstract, intricate relationships or complex, organized wholes; his lack of interest in long-range preparations or plans for the future; and his extreme literal-mindedness;

2. the Navaho's basic assumption of his own ability to coerce the power forces in his environment, including the government and government employees, by means of compulsive magic, an assumption which has the effect of making him stubborn and somewhat aggressive under certain circumstances;

3. the Navaho's attitude of fear toward strangers, his lack of confidence in white Americans and American government, his resistance and hostility toward government officials;

4. the two-way language difficulty.

Second, Navaho socio-economic organization is basically relevant to the problem of orienting local government toward community

[44] Secretary of the Interior, 1948 b, p. 12. See also *Ibid.*, 1947, pp. 2-4.

welfare. Since this has already been described briefly, here it will suffice to emphasize the following points:

1. the informal, scattered, and disjointed character of Navaho socio-economic organization, focused as it is in the matrilineal extended-family group and the "outfit";

2. the absence of any traditional formal mechanisms whatsoever for promoting tribal organization and solidarity;

3. the subtle, integrative, "behind-the-scenes" character of Navaho leadership, so different from the outwardly aggressive, domineering type of political leadership common among Anglo-Americans;

4. the leadership power of Navaho women;

5. the Navaho custom of deciding questions by unanimity rather than by majority vote or bureaucratic fiat.

Third, Navaho geography is basically relevant to the problem of orienting local government toward community welfare. Especially to be emphasized are:

1. the vastness and remoteness of the Navaho reservation;

2. the difficulty and inadequacy of transportation and communication —few paved roads, limited telephone service, etc.;

3. the extreme climate —high, dry with extremes of temperature and scant precipitation, much of which falls in cloudbursts causing swollen arroyos and floods, etc.;

4. the limited natural resources of the reservation —resources requiring capital outlay, credits, and a high degree of skill and industry for their efficient and intensive utilization.

Patently, the Navaho present an unusually difficult administrative problem, especially to American administrators, and one on which tens of millions of dollars may be spent with little or no positive return. For while similar in many ways to problems found in parts of the colonial world, the Navaho administrative problem is virtually unique in the United States and hence is outside the experience of most American government personnel, including most Indian Service officials and most Congressmen.

Moreover, essential data concerning many basic factors in the administrative picture have been missing, due partly to the lag in development the social and the psychological sciences compared to the physical sciences and technology. Much more has been known about the technical and economic circumstances of the tribe, for example, than about the more subtle sociological and psychological circumstances.

Lacking basic information concerning the relevant factors and also lacking knowledge and experience as to how similar problems

have been successfully handled elsewhere, Indian Service administrators, operating necessarily within the budgetary limitations of Congressional appropriations, have attempted in the past (and unfortunately are still attempting despite the fact that the basic data are now available) to handle the Navaho administration and welfare problem as nearly as possible in the orthodox American fashion —namely, with a centralized bureaucratic structure and marked emphasis on professional, institutionalized services such as school and hospitals. This statement holds whether we examine the record of Navaho administration during the past years, or the $ 88.570.000 program of Navaho-Hopi rehabilitation currently awaiting Congressional action.[45]

For example, in recent years the government's Navaho service has cost approximately $ 3,370,000 annually. On a per capita basis, this amount is about $ 61, or somewhat less than the per capita cost of all Indian services. However, the per capita basis is in fact deceptive; the true basis is that of the number of Navaho actually served. The children of school age served is about one-third of the total number; the hospital average is nearer one-half; the adult education or community coverage is probably less than one-tenth. When one turns from the fictitious per capita costs based on total population and examines the estimates of needed money as set forth in the current "Long-Range Program for Navaho Rehabilitation",[46] the reality becomes apparent at once, namely: a reasonably full "coverage" on the Navaho, through expansion of the *present type of services*, would cost not $ 3,370,000 a year but $ 12,000,000 at the least and the per capita costs would be not $ 61 but in the neighborhood of $ 200.

Thus viewed, Navaho service is one of the most expensive of all government services, in the United States or anywhere. The vital question, however, is: Has it been a productive, effective service? If increased toward "full coverage" would it meet the personality and welfare needs of the Navaho?

Viewing presently available facts about the Navaho in long-range perspective, one is impressed by the smallness of positive effect which the funds expended in federal services for the tribe have had. The present research reveals, for example, that despite a normal annual expenditure of $ 11.40 per capita for Navaho health services, the general level of child health in the more acculturated communities where are concentrated the hospital and public health services, seems to be lower than that in the more remote, less acculturated communities. The data suggest that direct benefits to group health from

[45] U. S. House of Representatives, 1950.

[46] Secretary of the Interior, 1948 b.

health services of the existing type and quality in Navaho communities with ready access to medical care, tend to be more than canceled by other factors operating in the Navaho acculturation situation, such as those responsible for the increase in malnutrition, anxiety, repression, and loss of spontaneity.

Although through the years many thousands of Navaho have attended schools which make a special point of teaching English and vocations to Navaho, it is generally admitted that 80 percent of the Navaho are illiterate and do not speak English, while not 5,000 Navaho can speak English with fluency. Nor have the schools been successful in preparing Navaho, whether or not they know English, to migrate off the reservation and earn their livelihood there. Only about one-third of the children of school age are in school and the schools are underpopulated. Moreover, the children who are in school are, in general, very irregular in attendance, and remain in school only a short period of time. The data suggest that other factors, such as Navaho attitudes, beliefs, linguistic forms, social organization, personality, aptitudes, and interests have complicated the pedagogical picture in both day and boarding school and prevented, to a considerable extent, the type of formal schooling being offered from "taking".

Of the 32,370 acres which have been made available for irrigated agriculture by modern government installation costing a total of $4,042,823, less than half have been cultivated regularly and when cultivated they have yielded crops only about 20 percent of the off-reservation regional norm. Despite their low average income, the Navaho tend to allow over half of their agricultural land potential to go unused, while their irrigated agricultural production is significantly below the regional norm. One may say, therefore, that Navaho farmland utilization is highly inefficient.

Despite considerable sums spent by the government on tribal organization, range management, scientific breeding and stock reduction, certain districts of the Navaho range are still overstocked and the average yield of wool per sheep and of lambs per ewe, although recently improved due to federal efforts, is still markedly below comparable norms for the surrounding area. Other Navaho natural resources, except timber and oil, are little exploited.

Furthermore, not only is there a meagerness of *positive* return on large federal expenditures for services of the type which are being rendered among the Navaho, but there seems even to have been an appreciable *negative* influence on their personalities. The deeply disturbing effects of pressures from the outside world on Navaho per-

sonality have been noted, as well as the widespread negative reaction, resistance and fear of the Navaho toward the United States government and government personnel. Fear and uneasiness were found to be markedly greater in the more acculturated communities, as was also resistance to the government, although such resistance was strong throughout the reservation.

On the basis of the known facts we conclude, therefore, that Navaho administration, while not necessarily costly compared to that of other tribes under the Indian Service, and to that of the various States, is inefficient and even in some respects actually deleterious in terms of its effects on native personality and welfare and in the achievement of its long-range administrative goals.[47]

Now, the immediate problem that faces the Indian Service, Congress and the taxpayers is how to change Navaho administration from the inefficient type of government which it has been in the past and still is, to an efficient, economical government in terms of Navaho personality and welfare. The present research furnishes essential data especially on the psychological and sociological aspects of this problem —data which allow us to proceed for the first time on the firm basis of scientific knowledge of the fundamental relevant facts in total context, rather than on the basis of ignorance, partial knowledge or prejudice. It also indicates that a community-welfare-oriented government which focuses on the personality needs and trends and the resources of the local population is not necessarily a costly government. Indeed, from the long-range viewpoint it may be highly economical.

Recommendations[48]

The present findings indicate clearly that the Navaho, as a group, cannot be transformed quickly into a typical American community —English-speaking, with typical American attitudes, values, customs, living standards, health and educational norms. The Navaho cannot be so transformed regardless of how much or how little money is put into the reservation or how it is spent, and regardless of how Ame-

[47] It should be noted that most of the deficiencies in the Navaho service have long been recognized and publicized by former Commissioner John Collier and certain other Indian Service officials. See, for example, Collier, 1945, pp. 286-89; 1949 b.

[48] Many of the recommendations which follow were suggested in the "Committee Report on Navaho Education" of the present research (Kimball et al.). See also Collier and Moskowitz, pp. 31-50; Kluckhohn and Leighton, pp. 75-120; and Shepard *Ms.*

ricans believe this to be the "solution" of the Navaho problem. (An astonishing number of Americans do believe it). The present research indicates, in fact, that the more zealously and directly the Navaho Agency is administered with such an end in view, the more fear, anxiety and hostility are likely to be generated in Navaho personalities and Navaho communities, the lower is likely to be the general mental and physical health, the more ceremonies are likely to be performed, and the more resistance may be expected toward whites and white government.

Nor would the substantial enlargement of the Navaho land-base present a genuine long-range resolution, even were such a measure possible, since, as has been noted, it would merely delay facing the fundamental issues.

The facts indicate that the Navaho tribe, the largest non-literate, non-industrial cultural island in the United States, may be expected to remain, for some time at least, a group somewhat apart culturally, linguistically, economically, and educationally, from the typical American community. Every continent, however, with a large desert and semi-desert region has such ethnically distinct desert and semi-desert tribes. Australia, for example, has its desert-dwelling Aborigines, Africa its Hottentots and Bushmen, Asia its Mongolian nomads, Bedouins, etc. —indigenous peoples all, usually protected legally and sometimes culturally by the dominant nation. The Navaho case, therefore, is not anomalous except in the United States. Dominant powers do not generally expect their desert tribes to acculturate quickly to modern industrial civilization, nor to change their ways of life *substantially* unless they also change their environment from desert to non-desert, for obviously survival in the desert depends on the fine balance which each tribe has worked out for itself on the basis of centuries of trial and error into a functional, integrated pattern of living which permits group survival under extreme climatic conditions.

So long as the Navaho remain predominantly desert and semi-desert dwellers depending primarily on their own land-base, their life way, if they are to survive, will have to remain all-of-a-piece. Any change introduced from outside, either of the government or another agency such as the missionary or the trader, must fit or be made to fit into the pre-existing pattern which has been found by experience to "work" in environmental context. Any development must be a development out of that pre-existing pattern and on the basis of it.

It is important to stress the fact that we are dealing here not with conjectures, personal opinion, or impractical abstract theories. Nor are we dealing primarily with ethical principles. We are dealing with

the processes of social life and death, processes of social health and sickness —processes as inexorable as those of atomic fission. Unless Navaho administration is built on the basis of pre-existing Navaho life patterns, including the Navaho personality structure, socio-economic organization and symbol system, and unless it tunes itself to Navaho rhythms and values, it will fail in the future as it has in the past. Man's personality and culture are not clay to be molded into any form by the skillfull administrator, they are fundamental structures which give *base, limitation* and *direction* to administrative effort and administrative goals.

All these considerations lead to a primary recommendation emerging from the present research, namely: *Navaho administration should aim primarily to guide, teach and influence the Navaho by means of indigenized methods to improve their own pattern of living on their present land-base, and also should strive to make it possible for those who wish to leave the reservation to make an adjustment to life outside.* Specifically the long-range goals of the Navaho Service should be to guide, teach and aid the Navaho to improve their ways of solving their problem of living on their land-base, including a more efficient use of their farmland, rangeland and forests, and the development of irrigation, of arts and crafts, and of appropriate small industries, to improve their diet and general health, to develop community and tribal leadership, organization and self government, and to make it possible for those who so desire to educate themselves for life off the reservation. The explicit aim should also be to move toward the above-mentioned specific goals in a way which will generate as little fear, resistance and hostility as possible among the Navaho and will, indeed, build up security and creative outlets rather than insecurity, anxiety and repression in Navaho personality.

To work toward this general goal effectively, a reconsideration of present practices is needed and a reorganization of services is imperative.

Community-centered organization.

First, in order to reach and benefit the Navaho with a minimum of harmful by-products in the way of personal and social disorganization. Navaho administration must be centered in the Navaho's own natural sociological groups. This means that administrators must work through the grass-roots land-use community or "outfit" and the extended family. Although scattered over large areas, these are the natural face-to-face communities of the Navaho, and it is here that the real, on-the-ground native leadership is being exercised. As two anthropologists,

Dr. Solon T. Kimball and Dr. John H. Provinse,[49] pointed out some years ago on the basis of extensive field studies:

> There are five major considerations which point to the land use community as the basis for planning and administration.
>
> 1. The land use community is a social group, one of whose major functions is the use of the resources in a specified area of country.
>
> 2. The land use community in its own right has accepted and executed planning for and administration of resources on the area which it claims. Such local planning has arisen from the need of supplying or supplementing livelihood for an increased number of dependents and the need to meet changed conditions effecting the community. This local assumption of responsibility and concern for conditions in these local areas is vitally related to planning for the Navaho reservation.
>
> 3. The required leadership and responsibility to assume the burden of correct land use practices is already present in the community. Administration will become an impossible task, unless acceptance is assured on the part of the Indians. If this ability is utilized for the realization of proper land use practices, then the administrative officials in any district can assume their true functions as advisors and educators. The responsibility for executing proper land use can be delegated to the community and acceptance secured through the influence of the community's leaders.
>
> 4. The community's land use areas are of sufficient size and contain sufficient number of people to make it evident that they represent efficient areas of management planning...
>
> 5. Land units smaller than the present districts are a necessity for planning and administration. This has been demonstrated by the inadequacy of present range plans on a district basis.

This strong recommendation that the Navaho land-use community or "outfit" should be made the basis of planning and administration on the Navaho reservation has been quoted at length for two reasons. First, it coincides with the findings of the present research. Second, no such basis of planning and administration and no effective consideration of the sociological realities are to be found in the key document on which current legislation for the Navaho tribe is based, namely *The Long-range Program for Navaho Rehabilitation*[50] compiled by Dr. Provinse after he became Assistant Indian Commissioner, and by his associates. Indeed, if one read only the program one might logically conclude that the compilers were completely ignorant of the

[49] Kimball and Provinse, pp. 23-24.

[50] Secretary of the Interior, 1948 b.

more subtle sociological and psychological facts about the Navaho. Certainly one would never guess from the program for Navaho rehabilitation that one of the compilers (Dr. Provinse) had been Co-Chairman of the Joint Committee on Administration Research of the present project, and that the main findings and final report of the project were available to him and his associates when the Navaho program was being prepared.[51]

To be specific, the present research findings suggest that each local Navaho community needs most of the following services:

1. guidance and instruction in range management, scientific stock breeding, and soil conservation;
2. guidance and instruction in improved methods of farming and in using and conserving irrigated and dry farmlands;
3. help in standardization and marketing of hogan industries;
4. guidance and instruction in adequate diet, hogan hygiene, infant and maternal care;
5. guidance and instruction in literacy in the Navaho language;
6. guidance and help in community organization toward tribal unity;
7. special instruction of the children in the above-mentioned subjects and if possible in elementary arithmetic, history, geography and English.

How can these services be rendered in a way which will be acceptable to the Navaho at the local community level?

Fortunately, an illuminating experiment in community organization is going forward in a remote part of the Navaho reservation. The Navaho Mountain community, according to the findings of the present research, furnishes an example of successful community organization under Indian Service leadership. In this isolated community, almost all federal services are integrated through the local school which is a community center, its capable, warm-hearted teacher functioning not only as schoolteacher but also as community worker and general adviser for the whole group. And Navaho Mountain, whose children (according to the present findings) appear to be healthier (as of 1943), less anxious and fearful, and more spontaneous than

[51] The Final Report on the present research (Thompson, 1947) was delivered to the Secretary of the Interior and the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs two and a half months before the Secretary signed the "Long-Range Program for Navaho Rehabilitation" (Secretary of the Interior, 1948 b), the key document on which current legislation for the Navaho tribe is based.

It should be noted that decentralization of Navaho administration is also urged in the Charles A. Collier report (See Secretary of the Interior, 1947, pp. 24-25).

those of the other Navaho communities studied in the present project, give an important clue as to how successfully to cope with Navaho community organization.

First, since the Navaho natural sociological communities and their leadership have not been completely mapped, it will be necessary to fill in this vital gap in our knowledge as soon as possible. *It is recommended, therefore, that an anthropologist be engaged immediately and given adequate funds to hire a staff to explore this problem and to submit his report within one year.*

Second, *it is recommended that experiments in community service and organization among the Navaho be set up as soon as possible.*[52] These experiments should be designed to discover the most effective ways of organizing and rendering services to the Navaho including returned servicemen, using Navaho leadership at the face-to-face community level. At least two communities should be selected for experimentation, one a more acculturated and one a less acculturated community. An applied social scientist, preferably with wide experience in meeting similar problems in the colonial or dependency field, should be selected to direct the project, while one field worker familiar with Navaho problems and personality (and, if possible, with the Navaho language) should be selected to work in each experimental community. The field worker in one community might be a schooled Navaho, in another a teacher who has been particularly successful in community work among the Navaho, etc. It would be advisable to train the field workers, interpreters and other workers on the project in their jobs, including the services to be rendered, and for this purpose the resources of the Agency should be put at the disposal of the director. The research director would be instructed to make a full report at the end of one year including detailed recommendations as to effective methods of indigenizing Navaho services at the local community level.

Third, *it is recommended, on the basis of the findings of the two above-mentioned fact-finding projects, that the Navaho Agency and its services be completely reorganized, decentralized and indigenized, the several hundred local communities being made the basic administrative units, emphasis being placed on selecting and training Navaho to take care of their own services, including indigenized health and educational services and mass education in literacy in the native language, as well as improved use of basic resources.* Both adults and children would receive this basic training and wherever possible the children would have additional instruction in the vernacular in ele-

[52] For details, see Kimball et al.

mentary subjects and in English, so far as possible by schooled Navaho in the community. Opportunity would be provided for the children with promising personality equipment to attend boarding schools which would be set up to train Navaho for off-reservation living and for Agency service, including community organization and teaching, indigenized health service, range management, extension, craftwork and hogan industries instruction and management.

Mass literacy in the mother tongue.

It is further recommended that steps be taken immediately to discover and map out the most efficient methods for making it possible for the mass of the Navaho population to become literate in the Navaho language and that a literacy campaign be launched as soon as possible toward this end.

Literacy in some language is absolutely necessary for the carrying out of any large-scale, systematic government program. Without it, communication is hopelessly inadequate. Indeed, there is no effective communication whatsoever with the great mass of the population. With it, bulletins, newspapers, pamphlets may reach to, and be read and understood by, the people even in the most remote areas. With universal literacy in the vernacular, the "iron curtain" which shuts a non-literate people off from the world is lifted and the first effective channel of regular communication is opened up.

The Navaho language has already been reduced to writing by a government linguist, and in normal times a newspaper is published by the Indian Service in Navaho. But its circulation and effectiveness are limited by the small number of Navaho who can read it. As a result of the proposed literacy campaign, the newspaper would be accessible to the general population. It could be expanded and followed up by other reading matter designed to be of service to the tribe.

Moreover, it is generally agreed that literacy in the vernacular is the first basic step toward literacy in a second language which, in the Navaho case, would of course be English.

Dr. Margaret Mead states:

> There is now enough evidence in existence on efforts to teach literacy to illiterate and preliterate peoples, to make it possible to say that a basic condition to successful literacy on any large scale —is that it should be attained in the mother tongue. Literacy achieved in any language other than the mother tongue is likely, except in exceptional cases, to remain superficial and un-comparable with the literacy of people who learn to read in the language in which their mothers sang them to sleep. Not only does this fact account for the relatively

> greater success of the Dutch in bringing native peoples of the East Indies up to college level in one generation, out of village schools, but also for the failure of American efforts to make the Indian comfortably literate out of the tribal setting. Despite the seeming waste of time involved in teaching children to read and write in languages and dialects in which there is no literature, or at least no contemporary literature, this seems to be the only way in which full literacy can be attained. Once the basic connections are made, the pupil can pass rapidly, as has been repeatedly demonstrated in the East Indies, to literacy in some other language.[53]

Jackson Davis, Director of the General Education Board, New York, states:

> The British policy is to recognize the important native languages and to use the vernacular for the first three or four years of the village school.[54]

Victor Purcell states:

> The opinion of experts was that a pupil should not start learning English until he had a thorough grounding in the native tongue. In the Malay States the teaching of Malay was concentrated upon.[55]

Gerard Cleisz states:

> The basis of education [in French Indo-China] is the three Rs, taught three years in the language of the group.[56]

Professor Rupert Emerson of Harvard University states:

> The purpose of these village schools [see note from Mead above] is to furnish a basic three year course for the average rural Indonesian in the vernacular to which he is accustomed and taught by teachers of his own general community.[57]

How does all this apply to the Navaho educational problem? First, Dr. W. Carson Ryan, as Director of Indian Education, and succeeding him Dr. Willard Beatty, recognized the testimony of world experience as sampled above. Navaho was reduced to phonetic record; a literature has gradually been published in Navaho; and a monthly paper on quite a scale is generally issued.

But in the Navaho elementary schools, the recognition has not been put into practice. These schools still go ahead trying to do what edu-

[53] Mead.
[54] Davis.
[55] Purcell.
[56] Cleisz.
[57] Emerson.

cators the world over have found to fail: namely, to thrust the Navaho children immediately into literacy in English.

Indigenized health services

As has been noted, at the time of the present field research almost 100 percent of the Navaho medical appropriations were spent on hospital services. The hospitals, however, are generally not used to their full capacity, over half the Navaho population having little or no contact with modern white medicine. Indeed, practically all Navaho still believe that sickness is caused by supernatural agents and may be cured by ceremonies over which the medicine man officiates. Despite influences from outside, the Navaho medicine man and his ceremonies continue to be the typical Navaho method of coping with illness.

Obviously, the answer to the Navaho health problem does not lie in more medical services of the type that are now being rendered and have been rendered in the past, although such a measure, slightly improved by additional professional field services, is currently being recommended by the Indian Service to Congress.[58] What is needed, according to the present findings, is a thorough reorganization and reorientation of Navaho medical service toward maximum effectiveness at the local community level.

In the context of the Navaho situation, the most effective way of coping with the Navaho medical problem would seem to be to develop an indigenized, field health service keyed to Navaho health needs. According to this plan, Navaho youths with a knowledge of English, carefully selected from various parts of the reservation, would be offered an abbreviated course in medicine, simple surgery, public health and diet, adapted to Navaho needs and Navaho health conditions. This course might be developed at one of the already existing Indian hospitals which would become a Native Medical Training Center, offering instruction not only in indigenized medicine but also in nursing and midwifery, to Indians from other tribes as well as to Navaho.

Indigenized health services, of the type described above, have achieved brilliant results in raising the level of general health, in reducing infant and maternal mortality and controlling epidemics in non-literate, non-industrial populations in many parts of the world, and are generally recognized by colonial administrators as being the

[58] Secretary of the Interior, 1948 b.

most efficient and economical means of introducing modern medicine to the native group.[59]

The Navaho medical service is even more over-weighted on the side of hospital as against field service than are the medical services of the other Indian tribes studied. Indeed, there was at the time of the present research virtually no medical field service.[60] Long experience has led to a concensus among colonial administrators, faced with similar problems, that medical and health funds are most effectively used when at least half of the total is devoted to field service.

Hence it is recommended:

1. *that at least half the appropriation for Navaho medical service be earmarked for field service;*
2. *that the Navaho medical service be thoroughly reorganized in order to orient it with maximum effectiveness toward the local community level;*
3. *that to do this an indigenized health service be developed and made into a central, integral part of the whole:*
4. *that one of the existing hospitals, preferably a Navaho hospital, be made into a Native Medical Training Center, offering instruction in indigenized medicine adapted to Indian needs and also in nursing and midwifery, to selected, English-speaking Indians, including Navaho; and*
5. *that every effort be expended by the health authorities to obtain the cooperation and goodwill of the Navaho medicine men and the Navaho people in dealing with Navaho community problems.*[61]

Indigenized educational service

As with medical services, and for similar reasons, Navaho education, to be effective, needs to be indigenized.[62] As has been shown, the Navaho have their own system of inducting the child into the life of the local community, according to Navaho cultural patterns. In this system formal schooling plays a very small role indeed. Even when schooling is available, the Navaho take advantage of it only partially and in a half-hearted manner. Moreover, in general it leaves

[59] Carey.

[60] It is reported that this situation has been somewhat improved in recent years.

[61] For details as to how this may be accomplished, see Leighton and Leighton; Joseph.

[62] For details, see Kimball et al.

little impress on them, compared to the federal effort expended, in the way of improved skills and ability to speak, read and write fluent English.

Obviously the answer to the Navaho school problem does not lie in the direction of more and better schools of the type already available, such as is being currently recommended by the Indian Service to Congress.[63] Here again we must look toward the local community and the Navaho personality and cultural pattern. According to the present findings, the whole school system as it now exists needs to be reorganized and reoriented so as to center and ray out from the Navaho extended-family group and the land-use community. This means that Navaho teachers will have to be the mainstay of the Navaho educational system and it means that, for some time to come at least, these teachers will have to operate at an indigenized level and perhaps in a markedly unorthodox manner. As has been noted. Navaho education, if it is to be effective, will have to be mainly in the vernacular rather than in English for some time to come. And it will have to depend mainly on activities, apprenticeship and demonstration, rather than on recitations, textbooks, and expensive modern school equipment.

In other words, to be effective, "schooling" will have to become a part of Navaho life and to be tied in with the indigenous educational system which depends mainly on learning by experience. The teachers will have to be selected Navaho men and women who know some English (many of them probably veterans), preferably from the communities where they are to teach —men and women who will have attended a native teachers' training center where they will have been taught the elements of teaching literacy in the vernacular. range management, soil conservation, stock reduction, dry and irrigation farming, craftwork management, hogan hygiene. diet and child care. simple arithmetic, history, geography, tribal organization and English. The idea that "schooling" is mainly for children will have to be abandoned, education of the whole community in improved living ways and use of tribal resources being the aim. The notion that one of the central purposes of "schooling" is the teaching of English will likewise have to "go by the board", English being taught merely as one subject to students who already will be literate in Navaho and who already will have had some instruction in other basic subjects.

Supplementing this indigenized educational service, there will also have to be a limited number of day and boarding schools designed to provide qualified Navaho, who wish it, the opportunity of acquiring

[63] Secretary of the Interior, 1948 b.

an education through the high school level, of learning English and of preparing for apprenticeship in the Navaho service, for teaching, and for off-reservation living. These schools should serve as guidance and employment centers to help to place their students in congenial positions and to aid those who desire advance study to prepare for it and obtain it.

Accordingly, it is recommended:

1. *that an indigenized educational system, centered in hogan and field, be set up on the Navaho reservation, using mainly native men and women who have been trained in teaching basic techniques and skills related to the improvement of Navaho welfare and resources development and designed for the benefit of the whole community and not merely for children;*

2. *that teaching at the community level be mainly in the vernacular, English being offered, wherever qualified teachers are available, only as a special subject to students who are already literate in Navaho and have had some training in other basic subjects;*

3. *that, in line with the above, a native teachers' training center for Navaho be established, offering to Navaho men and women with a few years' schooling, an abbreviated course in teaching literacy in the vernacular, Navaho range management, local soil conservation, stock reduction, dry and irrigation farming in the area, craftwork management, hogan hygiene, diet and child care, simple arithmetic, history, geography, tribal organization and English;*

4. *that teaching materials in the vernacular and equipment designed to aid teachers in the indigenized educational service be prepared; and*

5. *that, supplementing this indigenized educational service and tied in with it, there be developed a limited number of day and boarding schools designed to give qualified Navaho a chance to acquire an education through the high school level, instruction in English, guidance and preparation for higher education if desired, and training for apprenticeship in the Navaho Agency service.*

Improved use and conservation of basic resources

Since it is clear from a survey of the facts that Navaho personal and social welfare depends on the efficiency with which the tribe *uses* and at the same time *conserves* its basic resources, in order to carry out the fundamental administrative policy which has been recommended, every effort should be put forth to promote sound range

management, soil conservation and improved farmland and irrigation practices. From this viewpoint, a curtailment of funds which would result in lowering the range carrying capacity (as, for example, the closing down of windmills used to pump water for stock) or in deterioration of irrigation developments is obviously uneconomical and, indeed, highly detrimental to tribal welfare. And it is primarily important in this connection, that the Navaho stock in overstocked districts be reduced to range carrying capacity as expeditiously as possible.

It is also important that appropriate local and hogan industries, utilizing available natural resources, aptitudes and talents, and keyed to Navaho culture patterns and rhythms, be encouraged and developed by means of government credits, cooperative organization and education. To market the products of such industries, as well as to implement other recommendations, it will be necessary to improve communication and transportation on the reservation.

Hence it is recommended that *the necessary funds be appropriated to carry out, particularly at the local community level, the Navaho stock reduction program, to promote sound range management and soil conservation, and to improve, facilitate the use of, and prevent the deterioration of, irrigation developments and farmland. It is also recommended that appropriate local and hogan industries, utilizing available natural resources, aptitudes and talents, and keyed to Navaho cultural patterns and rhythms be encouraged and developed by means of federal credits, cooperative organizations and education.*

Navaho career service

Finally, the indigenized program which has been recommended obviously cannot be carried out successfully under the present Indian Service practice of personnel promotion by shifting from one reservation to another. It calls, indeed, for a rigorous sifting of old personnel, the recruiting of new, especially qualified personnel, a pre-service and in-service training program in Navaho culture, psychology, language, and geography and in orientation in Navaho Agency policy and practices, and for the rating system to be revised to conform to the letter and spirit of the new Indian Service policy —all leading up to a Navaho Agency local career service.[64]

It is recommended, therefore:

1. *that the Navaho service be made a career service;*

[64] See Kluckhohn and Leighton, p. 109.

2. *that the Navaho service, in view of the program recommended in this report, be carefully sifted, and replenished with recruits chosen in view of their special qualifications for the particular jobs needing to be done;*

3. *that a pre-service and in-service training program for Navaho service personnel be developed to fit into the new program; and*

4. *that the personnel rating and promotional system be revised to conform to and reinforce it.*

(to be continued)

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ASPECTOS DA ACULTURAÇÃO DOS JAPONESES NO ESTADO DE SÃO PAULO, por *Emílio Willems*.—Boletim LXXXII da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras da Universidade de São Paulo, 1948.—115 pp.

O estudo da aculturação dos japoneses no Brasil, embora matéria de grande interêsse para os brasileiros, constitui campo quasi inexplorado pelos cientistas sociais. É pois louvável a iniciativa de Emílio Willems procurando analizar o resultado dos contactos culturais entre os imigrantes japoneses e demais elementos da população paulista. Desde 1941 vem o autor se dedicando a pesquizas sôbre a aculturação dos japoneses tendo realizado trabalhos de campo no Vale da Ribeira, Estado de São Paulo, Brasil. Impossibilitado de prosseguir *in loco* esses estudos, o autor planejou um inquérito junto às escolas públicas primárias do Estado de São Paulo, onde a frequência de alunos japonêses ou descendentes de japonêses igualasse ou superasse 20 % do total. Os resultados desse trabalho são apresentados sob o título *Aspectos da aculturação dos japoneses no Estado de São Paulo*.

O trabalho se baseia num inquérito, realizado por meio de questionários enviados às escolas públicas primárias que apresentavam uma frequência regular de alunos japoneses, totalizando 220 estabelecimentos educacionais situados fora do município da Capital do Estado de São Paulo. Em tôdas as zonas de colonização japonesa uma quantidade relativa de questionàrios foi distribuida. Nem tôdas as escolas primárias escolhidas tinham 20 % de alunos japoneses, mas apenas 217 satisfaziam esses requesitos, com um total de 11,087 alunos regulares entre os quais 6,023 eram japoneses ou filhos ou netos de japoneses.

O trabalho é acompanhado de quadros mostrando a distribuição espacial dos alunos japoneses pelas diferentes áreas de colonização, bem como aspectos particulares da aculturação. Num quadro referente à "cultura material" são enumerados itens tais como: diferenças na arquitetura externa da habitação, enfeites japoneses, retrato do imperador (japones), retratos de personalidades brasileiras, etc. Um outro quadro é dedicado ao exame da "cultura nâo material", abrangendo itens como: casamento japones, oferenda aos deuses ancestrais, diferenças na organização da familia. Evidentemente os itens foram enumerados de maneira que a sua presença fôsse facilmente reconhecida pelos professores pimários encarregados do preenchimento dos questionários.

Acompanhando os dados coligidos por meio dos questionários. o autor apresenta o relato de indivíduos que visitaram pessoalmente diferentes comunidades japonesas no Estado de São Paulo. Especial atenção é dedicada as mudanças linguísticas, particularmente ao papel que a escola pública desempenha na difusão da linguagem portuguesa. O inquérito mostra que em quasi quatro quintos dos casos, o contacto com brasileiros, antes da idade escolar, era suficiente para causar o empréstimo de palavras portuguesas. Na época da idade escolar cêrca de 30 % dos alunos japoneses já falavam o português sem dificuldades.

O autor está plenamente conciente das limitações de um trabalho baseado em questionários a serem preenchidos por diferentes indivíduos, a maioria dos quais sem um treino adequado. e. na totalidade sem um critério uniforme a ser obedecido. Muitos dos ítens a serem examinados, de outra parte, dependem muito do julgamento pessoal dos preenchedores dos questionários. Todavia, o trabalho, si outro mèrito não tivesse, constitui uma iniciativa valiosa visando o exame de um problema atè agora relegado pelos pesquizadores brasileiros. O trabalho està acompanhado de oito quadros e de um sumário em língua inglesa.

Fernando Altenfelder Silva

A TOTALITARIAN STATE OF THE PAST. The Civilization of the Inca Empire in Ancient Peru, by *Rafael Karsten*.—Societas Scientarum Fennica. Commentationes Humanarum XVI. 1.—Helsingfors, 1949.—VIII, 8, 288, 5, pp.

Aparece este libro después de haber sido publicados otros dos importantes trabajos sobre los incas: el de Means (Ancient Civilizations of the Andes, 1931), y el de Rowe (Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest, en *Handbook of South American Indians*, Vol. II. 1946). A pesar de esto el trabajo que comentamos no desmerece. tanto por presentar materiales nuevos no utilizados por Means, cuanto por mostrar el autor mayor flexibilidad y amplitud de criterio al hacer interpretaciones.

Quizá el mayor reproche que se le pueda hacer es haber escogido para su obra un título que implica cierta contradicción: el totalitarismo, científicamente hablando, sólo puede darse en *el presente*, como una modificación de los sistemas políticos occidentales del siglo XX (como el Socialismo, que también se ha atribuido a los Incas), y por lo tanto hablar de Estado Totalitario Inca . . . está mal. Si se quiere

calificarlo, sería quizá más conveniente hacer comparaciones con civilizaciones de otras partes del mundo en las que se encuentra el término "Despótico" para el tipo de Gobierno de la Sociedad Oriental, que es muy parecido al de los antiguos Incas.

El trabajo es resultado de estudios e investigaciones realizados durante casi treinta años, e intenta presentar de manera concisa pero detallada, la Civilización de los Incas en su totalidad, poniendo énfasis en algunos problemas de especial interés, como el origen "primitivo" de la alta civilización, la preocupación de los gobernantes por el bienestar de los gobernados, las características de la religión, la influencia de las condiciones geográficas tan especiales, los cambios de actitudes psicológicas de los indios con la conquista, y la influencia de la mentalidad en la formación de la cultura. Aunque a veces el autor se muestra inclinado a considerar determinantes unos factores que para otros investigadores serían determinados, como la "inteligencia natural" de los indios quechuas.

Karsten sintetiza y discute las culturas preincaicas, las fuentes de nuestro conocimiento sobre la cultura inca, las teorías y características sobre la formación y caída del Imperio Inca; describe las cualidades y el campo en épocas incaicas, su organización social y política, las modalidades de la propiedad y de la legislación y administración de justicia, sus costumbres matrimoniales, los sistemas educativos; y hace una amplia discusión sobre la religión, mostrando las ideas predominantes, los ritos, las adoraciones, el sistema de sacrificios, la mezcla de elementos mágicos y el culto a los ancestros. Las conclusiones a que el autor llega son: muchas instituciones frecuentemente atribuídas a los incas, son en realidad preincaicas; sin embargo, sobre viejas bases los incas crearon un orden social y político nuevo, un verdadero imperio; la organización interna, la jerarquía de jefes superiores e inferiores y todo el sistema administrativo, así como la adoración del sol y la forma especial de confesión son incas. El dominio "Totalitario" de los incas no era una tiranía insoportable, ya que no permitía la opresión de los sujetos; la dominación inca era rígida y estricta, pero justa; la legislación social es uno de los aspectos más hermosos de la civilización inca; hay marcado contraste entre la condición de los indios peruanos durante la dominación incaica y durante la Conquista y Colonia españolas.

Respecto a las conexiones con Mesoamérica, a base de ciertas similitudes en religión y cultura material, piensa que la civilización inca debe verse como una genuina creación cultural sudamericana. La cuestión de si los incas no sabían escribir, todavía no la considera es-

tablecida, en tanto falte por descifrar totalmente el sistema de nudos en cuerdas del *quipu*.

Arturo Monzón.

FONTES PRIMÁRIAS PARA O ESTUDO DOS ÍNDIOS DO BRASIL QUINHENTISTA, por *Herbert Baldus*.—Publicações do Instituto de Administração, Nº 28, Junho de 1948.—26 pp.

Como el diccionario para cualquier hombre de letras, las fuentes bibliográficas siempre han constituído un instrumento indispensable para el científico. Y esa necesidad de tal instrumento se ha venido tornando cada vez más urgente, a medida que año tras año la actividad investigadora y, por ende, la literatura científica en cualesquiera de sus ramas ha aumentado. Hoy en día ningún libro, o aun folleto, se publica huérfano de anotaciones bibliográficas, bien sea de las obras consultadas en su preparación, bien de las que se recomiendan al lector para ampliar el tema o profundizar detalles. Las bibliografías pueden ser selectas o exhaustivas, según la intención del autor y la utilidad que crea ver en ellas: unas y otras son útiles.

En el campo indigenista existe un océano de trabajos (obras, revistas, artículos o simples notas), y la tarea de realizar una Bibliografía Indigenista completa es, por su magnitud, algo temeraria. Desde 1940 la literatura indianista es más científica que romántica, pero la producción de una y otra sigue en efervescencia, señal segura y afortunada de que este problema americano, el más urgente quizás de la antropología aplicada, ocupa la atención de los estudiosos. El *Instituto Indigenista Interamericano* está emprendiendo la ardua preparación de una bibliografía como la arriba citada y los Institutos Indigenistas Nacionales están haciendo su inestimable parte en la obra. El Instituto de México, por ejemplo, proyecta publicar en estos meses su bibliografía sobre Etnología e Indigenismo mexicanos: hasta Diciembre de 1949 había reunido más de 3.000 fichas. El Instituto similar del Perú ha principiado a publicar en su órgano oficial una sección de los trabajos indigenistas existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional del Perú (véase *Perú Indígena*, I, 2, Sept., 1949, pp. 101-104). Son varias, asimismo, las publicaciones que incluyen secciones de "bibliografía americanista", en las cuales gran porcentaje es esencialmente de Indigenismo (véase *Boletín Bibliográfico de la Biblioteca Central de San Marcos*, año XXI, 3-4, 1948, pp. 195-208; *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional*, año V-11, 1948, pp. 93-158; ambos de Lima; *Jour-*

nal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N.S., t. XXXVIII, 1949, pp. 192-281;[1] y véase también la sección "Recent Publications Relating to Canada in Ethnology, Anthropology and Archaeology", en *The Canadian Historical Review*, como ejemplos). En cuanto al Brasil basta recordar algunas Publicações do Conselho Nacional de Proteção aos Índios, amén de las de centros de investigación pura.

El folleto del Dr. Baldus que nos ha dado pretexto para este comentario es, en realidad, una bibliografía también de tipo indigenista, y aunque sólo consta de 26 referencias, es de mérito su preparación y de utilidad su divulgación. La publica el Instituto de Administração, "el más reciente de los núcleos de investigación de la Universidad de São Paulo —nos dice el Prof. Mario Wagner Vieira da Cunha— y el cual viene procurando crear en cada una de las secciones especializadas en que se divide, condiciones fundamentales para la elaboración científica". Y fué a una de esas secciones (la de Historia de la Administración) a la que se sugirieron algunas actividades para sistematizar sus materiales y su aprovechamiento, así como iniciar una cruzada para la creación y estímulo de archivos regionales en el Estado de São Paulo. Pero el estudio de la historia de la administración debía situarse en el contexto más amplio de la historia general. "Para principiar —continúa el Prof. Vieira da Cunha— preferimos invitar a varios de nuestros historiadores para que participase en círculos de debates en que se reuniesen y sistematizasen las contribuciones de cada uno de ellos en relación a determinado tema. El tema para una serie inicial de seminarios fué el de las fuentes primarias para el estudio de la historia de São Paulo. Nació así el "Seminário do Estudo das Fontes Primárias para a História de São Paulo no Século XVI", el cual tuvo mucho éxito, gracias al entusiasmo de los participantes y al apoyo del Instituto Histórico y Geográfico.

La *Fontes Primárias para o Estudo dos Índios do Brasil Quinhentista*, del Dr. Herbert Baldus, es el resultado inmediato de la VIII reunión de aquel Seminario. El Dr. Baldus es connotado antropólogo de la Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política, bien conocido en el Continente a través de sus publicaciones en *Sociologia*, *Revista do Museu Paulista*, *Boletim Geográfico*, *Acta Americana*, etc. Las 26 referencias del folleto están divididas en dos partes: la segunda, a manera de Notas, es una simple enumeración de las fichas con una cifra que precede a cada una y a la cual se alude en la primera parte, que es la más

[1] La Bibliografía Americanista aparece en *casi* todos los tomos de esta publicación, como una Sección permanente.

notable. En ésta se hace una pequeña historia de la obra, ediciones, cuál es la preferible, etc., etc.

El total de fichas no puede ser muy extenso, ya que se trata de una bibliografía selecta sobre un tema específico y únicamente *quinientista*, como lo indica claramente el título de la publicación.

Lauro José Zavala.

BASES DE LA ECONOMÍA CONTEMPORÁNEA, por *Antonio García*.—Bogotá, 1948.—525 pp.

Este libro, que lleva como subtítulo "Elementos para una Economía de la Defensa", ha sido escrito con un criterio científico muy riguroso, no exento de intención polémica. Su autor, que actualmente dirige el Instituto de Ciencias Económicas, en la Universidad Nacional de Colombia, recoge en él los resultados de largos años de estudio y de meditación, a pesar de su juventud.

Las páginas de esta obra, de contenido denso y sistemático, están llamadas a despertar interés apasionado entre los economistas de todos los países de América. Pero también los historiadores y los sociólogos habrán de participar en este interés, porque para la mejor comprensión de lo que, a juicio del autor, significa el capitalismo occidental, el neo-capitalismo norteamericano y el sistema autárquico ruso-soviético, se hace un amplio estudio histórico de lo que representaron, dentro de una sistemática que previamente se establece, el *colectivismo primitivo*, el *sistema esclavista greco-latino*, el *sistema feudal europeo*, el *feudalismo* y el *capitalismo de la América colonial española*, y, por último, el *capitalismo moderno*, con sus coyunturas revolucionarias, base de la economía contemporánea.

No desconoce el autor las dificultades metodológicas que ofrece todo intento de presentar un esquema de historia económica general, por la interdependencia de los sistemas, por la coexistencia de los mismos dentro de su concatenación histórica y por la necesidad de armonizar el "criterio histórico abstracto", con arreglo al cual se habla de *colectivismo primitivo, esclavismo, feudalismo, capitalismo mercantil, capitalismo industrial y de competencia y socialismo planificado* como sistemas históricos —con un criterio realista que investiga la diferenciación de los sistemas "en cada medio o ámbito geo-cultural".

Un análisis de los conceptos expuestos a este respecto por los grandes maestros contemporáneos —principalmente Max Weber y Wagemann—, le sirve al profesor Antonio García para encontrar su propio camino a seguir, y lo sigue con seguridad, tanto al trazar el

esquema del *colectivismo primitivo*, como el del *sistema esclavista grecolatino* o el *feudal europeo*.

Sin embargo, la aportación personal más valiosa en este terreno historiográfico es la contenida en las páginas dedicadas al estudio de lo que el autor llama "feudalismo y capitalismo en la América colonial española".

Para situarse frente a la debatida cuestión de si en la América Española del período colonial existió o no, en el orden económico y en el social, un verdadero feudalismo, declara el autor del libro que estamos comentando: "Para determinar el tipo de feudalismo existente en América en la época colonial, no puede tomarse en cuenta ni el patrón europeo medieval, ni la orientación de las leyes expedidas para regular la vida social de las Indias, ni, en mucho, las propias instituciones peninsulares que servían de modelo invariable, pero que tomaban un nuevo sentido en el trasplante. Es por esto que estudiamos el feudalismo colonial de América como un fenómeno tan específico como el feudalismo europeo medieval, dándole la categoría de un *sistema propio*, si bien no desvinculado de grandes influencias medievales y renacentistas."

El enfoque metodológico del problema nos parece acertado. Sin desconocer la importancia que en el orden historiográfico —como en todos los campos de la cultura— tienen las palabras, lo que importa más es el estudio directo de los hechos y su acertada interpretación. Y esto es lo que el Prof. Antonio García intenta en su libro, después de la declaración precedente: presentar y analizar los hechos económicos, la realidad de la vida económica americana del período colonial, sin concepciones preconcebidas, sin desdeñar el valor de las regulaciones legales, pero yendo más allá en sus investigaciones y tratando de captar la verdadera significación de los hechos y de las instituciones.

Es así como se analizan las cuestiones siguientes: a) el carácter del mercantilismo español en América.—b) la presión económica de las Regalías de la Corona.—c) el carácter parasitario del Estado en las Indias.—d) el carácter feudal del sistema de repartimientos (con estudio esquemático de lo que fueron las *reducciones* y las *encomiendas*, y dentro de ellas, el *tributo*, los *servicios personales* y la *mita*, con alusión a la condición del Indio en los territorios de Misiones y a ciertas reformas específicas del régimen del trabajo, como el *yanaconazgo peruano*, el *peonaje mexicano*, el *terraje colombiano*, el *concertaje ecuatoriano* y el *inquilinaje chileno*.—e) el mestizaje de la comunidad medieval y la comunidad indígena.—f) los sistemas de intervención

de los cabildos en la vida agraria.—g) la influencia de la esclavitud y del salariado.—h) la política de obstrucción a los obrajes.—i) el carácter regresivo de la organización gremial indiana.—j) el carácter parasitario del capitalismo colonial.—k) la naturaleza negativa del sistema fiscal.—l) la coexistencia de las economías natural y monetaria.—m) el sentido político militar de la ciudad indiana.

No ha de verse en la lista de enunciados que acabamos de transcribir algo así como el índice de una historia económica colonial. Lo que el autor se propone en las páginas de referencia —67 a 101 del libro— no es hacer un bosquejo histórico de la vida económica en América durante el período de la dominación española, sino esclarecer conceptos que lleven a un planteamiento metodológico y a una justa interpretación de los problemas. Y todo ello con un criterio y una sistemática, no exclusivamente historiográficos, sino también, y principalmente, sociológicos y económicos. Se trata, por lo tanto, de una interpretación personal de hechos e instituciones, basada en investigaciones documentales propias y ajenas. La bibliografía historiográfica utilizada al efecto es nutrida y seleccionada y ha sido manejada con inteligente espíritu crítico.

En suma, estamos frente a una obra cuya importancia es obligado subrayar y que respalda plenamente el sólido prestigio de que su autor goza en los círculos universitarios más selectos de Colombia.

José Mª Ots.

REGÍMENES INDÍGENAS DE SALARIADO.—El salariado natural y el capitalista en la Historia de América, por *Antonio García*.—México, 1948 (América Indígena, vol. VIII, pp. 249-287).

El autor de este estudio, economista colombiano de alto prestigio y documentado investigador del problema indigenista, nos ofrece un análisis certero y sistemático del salariado en las llamadas *regiones marginales* de las distintas comarcas de Colombia, que va precedido de una exposición histórica sobre "el salariado en mitas y obrajes de la Época Colonial" y sobre "el salariado artesanal de la Colonia".

Estos dos capítulos previos, que son los que específicamente nos interesan, han sido elaborados teniendo a la vista fuentes documentales, inéditas y de positivo valor histórico, de distintos archivos de Colombia.

Se trata por lo tanto, de un trabajo de primera mano, en el cual, los documentos objeto de la investigación del autor, son analizados sagaz-

mente, con seguro criterio histórico y con justa valoración del ambiente económico social de la época.

En el primero de los dos capítulos previos indicados, llega el profesor Antonio García a la conclusión de que en las minas de oro y plata de la Nueva Granada no llegó a existir el asalariado libre, recibiendo el Indio trabajador un *salario natural* y no monetario, a pesar de que "legalmente los salarios se tasan en dinero".

Con respecto al *salariado artesanal,* sus conclusiones son las siguientes:

1) Carencia de personería del gremio, para hacer su propia vida y controlar la economía del taller artesano, en sus relaciones hacia adentro o hacia afuera.

2) Absoluta *permeabilidad* del gremio (en el sentido de que podría libremente escogerse un oficio, sin posibilidad de oposición por parte de las organizaciones gremiales), pero *absoluta fijeza* en el trabajo dentro del taller.

3) Control técnico de los oficios y los talleres artesanos por parte de la autoridad pública.

4) *Inmovilidad* de la mano de obra, independientemente de la libertad jurídica instituída por las ordenanzas.

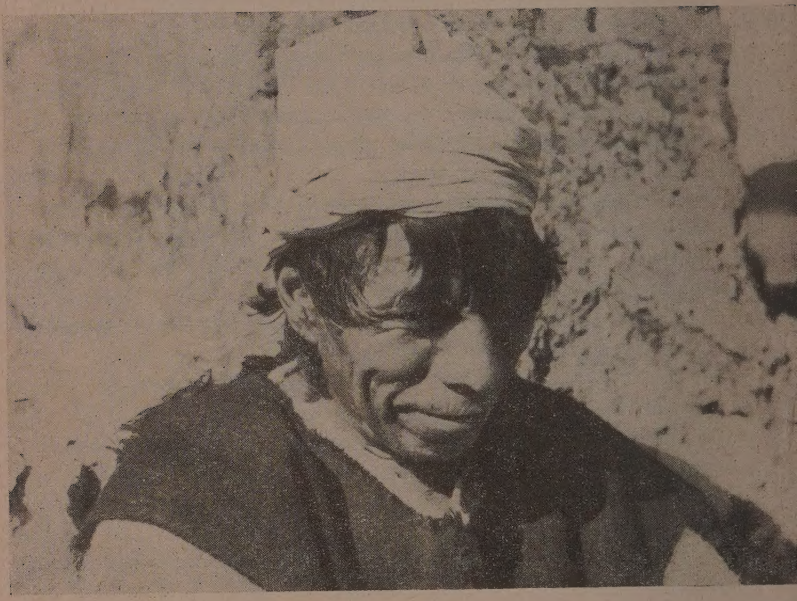
5) Régimen patriarcal dentro del taller artesano, convertido en una proyección social de la familia.

6) Iniciación del régimen de contratos (de aprendizaje y de trabajo).

7) Formación de un rudimentario "proletariado artesanal" (con aquellos elementos "de derecho" inhabilitados para la obtención de títulos gremiales y autorización de ejercicio público del oficio).

Insistimos en que este estudio constituye un aporte muy estimable para el debido esclarecimiento de una cuestión histórica del mayor interés.

José Mª Ots.



Indio Chamula, Chiapas.

Foto: C. Guiteras Holmes

Sobretiros:

Re-edición de algunos de los estudios más importantes aparecidos en *América Indígena* y *Boletín Indigenista*. Hasta ahora se han publicado los siguientes:

LAS INSTITUCIONES DEMOCRÁTICAS DE LOS INDÍGENAS MEXICANOS EN LA ÉPOCA COLONIAL, por *Luis Chávez Orozco*. 1943. 61 pp.

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EXPLORACIÓN ECONÓMICO CULTURAL EN LA REGIÓN ONCOCERCOSA DE CHIAPAS, MÉXICO, por *Manuel Gamio*. 1946. 46 pp. y 3 Mapas.

México: $ 2.00 — Otros Países: Dls. 0.25

THE HEALTH AND CUSTOMS OF THE MISKITO INDIANS OF NORTHERN NICARAGUA: INTERRELATIONSHIPS IN A MEDICAL PROGRAM, por *Michel Pijoan*. 1946. 54 pp.

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